एक्शन नहीं लिया जाता है । आप इंप्लायमेंट के फीगर्स ले लें, साउथ सेंट्रल रेलवे में महाराष्ट्र के लोगों का फीगर सब से कम है । मैं मांग करता हूं कि इस को आप जरा देख लीजिएगा । वहां के लोगों की इंप्लायमेंट की जो मांग है उस में वहां लोगों को लगता है कि क्योंकि वे साउथ सेंट्रल जोन में हैं इस लिए उस इलाके के लोगों को इंप्लायमेंट में या लाइफ के कंवर्जन में कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है और अगर आप इस स्थिति में कोई सुधार नहीं कर सकते हैं तो हम को सेंट्रल रेलवे के साथ जोड़ दें । जहां तक नानदेड़ डिवीजन की बात है, अगर उस को आप पूरा करें तो शायद हो सकता है कि हमारी जो दिक्कतें हैं वे हल हो सकें।

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI** (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thank you very much.

I am here to support the Railway Budget which has been placed before us.

Sir, I have very little time. I have got two points to make.

One is the one which Dr. Bapu Kaldate has just now mentioned. It is a point which is very much agitating the minds of the people of Maharashtra, particularly about the areas from Ratnagiri to Pune. I was one of the agitators, and the Solapur Division was brought in the Central Railway. I joined Mr. N. G. Goray who was a Member of Parliament at that time, to press for bringing that Division in the Central Railway, and that was brought in.

Then, Sir, we were also interested in agitation. But Mr. Vasantrao Patil who was then the Chief Minister and President of the Pradesh Congress, advised us not to agitate and said that it would be brought in in due course. Then, one or two Railway Ministers came and went, but they did not do it.

Sir, a survey has been made very recently. I have got a letter here given by the Minister. It is dated February 16, saying that there are operational difficulties. I am aware that the Railway Ministry has done this survey and that there is no operational difficulty at all. It is only, Sir, our desire. Particularly Mr. Kaldate and myself have pressed.

Whatever is in the Andhra Pradesh area should be joined to the Central Railway. We have got nothing to say against Andhra Pradesh or Karnataka. You please assure us today that this would be done and as quickly as possible, say, from 1st April because 31st March is the accounting year.

About the other railway lines, my friends have mentioned. I do not want to take your time. But at least you should assure us about the area between Ratnagiri and Pune. It is a very small area, and it is on the border of Karnataka. I am not asking up to Belgaum. If possible, up to Belgaum it should be done. But the area should be brought under the Central Railway. Along with Belgaum, for Ratnagiri this can be done. But, if it is not possible, at least Ratnagiri, Kolapur, Miraj and Pune should be brought in.

4.00 P.M.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY**: Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity.

Sir, it is the first time that all sections of the people are affected by the unprecedented increase of fares and freights.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI)**: Mr. Gopalsamy, now we have to take up the next item on the Agenda. You can continue next time.

## SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION ON THE INCREASING INCIDENTS OF CRIME AGAINST WOMEN IN THE COUNTRY

**SHRI N. E. BALARAM** (Kerala): Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the entire House and the concerned Minister to the increasing incidence of crimes against women and the growing atrocities against women in this country. It is a very important issue which is agitating the minds of our entire nation. I think all of us are very much concerned about it. I hope we will be able to find a solution to put an

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end to this sort of increasing atrocities against women. It is going on every day. Every morning if you read the newspaper reports, you will find in one page or another there are reports about the crimes against women being committed. I do not have the exact figure, but one newspaper—the Hindustan Times—has given some figures. It says :

> "According to information available with the Union Home Ministry, crime against women is growing at a fast rate, despite the fact that many cases go unrecorded."

That is another factor. When the cases go unrecorded, we do not know the exact number of crimes taking place in the country.

> "In 1985, 6356 cases of rape, 8440 cases of kidnapping of women, 837 cases of bride burning were officially recorded in the country."

The Home Ministry has recorded this. This is a newspaper report. The number during the first eight months of 1986 for which the statistics are available has already touched the 1985 figures dowry deaths alone numbering 879. That means since 1986 it is increasing. I don't have the statistics about what happened in 1987, but it is a fact that it is on the increase and it is a very sorry state of affairs. How do we call a country a civilized nation when crimes against women are increasing everyday ?

Sir, a new situation has developed inside the country. Now, the Indian women find it very difficult to approach the police for protection. It had not happened in the past. Of course, rare cases might have been there, but now they cannot go to the police station to seek protection. They are now very afraid of approaching the police. To be brief, I would like to give you only two examples. One is about what happened in Bihar recently. In Deoghar district in the village of Pararia on February 18 midnight about a battalion of police, including some Police Officers, entered into the village and raped thirty women. Out of them ten were unmarried. None of these thirty could escape rape. It happened in Bihar. You know, Sir, when it was brought to the notice of the Government, the most unfortunate thing I must say the most unfortunate thing, was that he Government kept quiet and was indifferent for several days. The police officers said "it is only a farce, it is only an allegation against the police department and nothing has happened." Of late, I understand that about 14 policemen were suspended but so far no cases have been registered against them and no arrests have been made. I do not know what is the attitude of our Government. This is a very serious matter. When the entire battalion of police entered into the village and tried to gang-rape, I am ashamed to say gang-rape, what will the common people do ? I ask you : what is the safety for the women of this country ? This is what has happened in Bihar.

Now, come to Assam where another incident of rape took place, that is Kokrajhar district. This has happened on 27th January and also in the midnight and about 7 Tribal girls were raped by policemen. Nothing has happened there also. What happened in both the places? The Government has ordered a departmental enquiry, a departmental enquiry. What is the meaning of this ? No cases were registered, no policemen were arrested and things are going on like this. That is why I say a new situation has developed in the country and women cannot go to the police station to find any solution. They are afraid of policemen. I do not say this is the case throughout the country but very soon it will develop throughout the country. If this is the situation, then, I am afraid of the attitude of our Government. The Government of India has already appointed a committee to study the problem, not that they are keeping quiet. This is reported in the Times of India dt. 24-1-1988 by Kuldip Nayar famous journalist, I quote:

> "A Government of India study shows that crime against women in the country has shown "an increasing trend" in the past decade... Though several factors are found responsible for this, the study puts a portion of blame on the police. The incidence of rape and cases

of prostitution and its related offences have been found to be increasing at a rate higher than in the other types... However, the Government takes satisfaction in the fact that compared to America, Japan, France, England and Ireland, India has recorded the lowest average volume of rape cases.

This is the report of the Government of India. This is our calculation according to this Committee. If you compare the incidents with England and France and then say that comparatively the rapes are much less here, I have got nothing to say. I am ashamed of this sort of attitude. If this is the attitude, then, how we can control the police ? The question is : how did the police get this much courage to enter into the villages and gang-rape ? How did they do it ? From where did they get this courage ? They knew that the Government are impotent. They knew that nobody would question them. I do not know anything more than that. How could the police force do like that ?

Some of the ruling party members, I do not say all the ruling party members and MPs, defend the police especially in Bihar. It is a shameful thing. I do not want to mention the names. They are coming out in large number in favour of the police. Is it the way to lead the country?. Is it the political behaviour of the political party, I ask? Where are you going? You talk of values? What values are there? Unless you have rethinking about your own ideology, about your culture. (*Interruptions*). I am not saying all the Congress people are doing it...(*Interruptions*)...I do not hold that opinion. I do not say all the Congressmen are responsible for it. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He has made it very clear...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Let us rise above party considerations in such matters...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I would like that you should avoid that because it is a very important aspect.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: Right Sir.

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव** (बिहार) : यह घटना हुई है, अखबारों में आई है। यह कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है।

SHRI N.E. BALARAM: Now, I draw your attention to another development. That is the sale of women that is going on on a large scale in our country. I quote a press report here again:—

> "In Bilaspur district, women continue to be sold, mortgaged, contracted and leased out in this tahsil of Bilaspur district in Madhya Pradesh".....

This correspondent has witnessed several such deals at several places. This sort of girls are called Kisbin girls in Madhya Pradesh. These Kisbin girls are not sold outright in the mela, but they are only leased out. What would happen to them when they are taken to different places, nobody knows. This is going on on a large scale in Madhya Pradesh. I do not know about other parts of the country. This still is going on even today in Madhya Pradesh. (*Interruptions*) ...If you do not feel sorry, all right. But I feel sorry.....(*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): What has happened in Kerala? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: If it happens in Kerala, I am sorry for it. (*Interruption*) I as a Member, I as a man, feel ashamed of it. I want to find a solution but I do not want a solution that the Home department has found, that is comparing Japan, America and France and saying that average rate of rape in India is much less than those countries. I do not

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accept that theory. That is a shame on the whole of Home department. That is my point. I am not talking about Congressmen. This is my point. Then comes the status of women in police custody. A Committee was appointed under the leadership of Mr. V. R. Krishna Iyer and that Committe was called the National Expert Committee and what does that Committee say? The National Expert Committee on Women in its report has found that custodial facilities for women are most deplorable, depressing and harsh with prisons and lock-ups being nothing short of dungeons with awful sanitary conditions. Referring to the custodial callousness, the Committee recorded that it came across numerous complaints of harsh and unacceptable treatment by the police of women in custody." This is the fate of our women in police custody.

I would like to make one more point. That is about family planning. We are for it. I do not attack family planning. I am for it. But, who is, again. the victim of this family planning? Women. There are reports. I do not want to read the reports. There are a number of examples given in the reports. After family planning operation, many women became lame, became paralysed. The entire life is lost for a number of them. It is reported that there were 50 to 60 cases in Jaipur, at one place. I do not want to read the report. I had been to the GDR. There, they have got the most sophisticated equipment. The operation is done within minutes. The ladies get up and go to factory for work immediately. We are talking of marching to the 21st century and of technological developments. But what sort of family planning operation are we doing? It takes two hours, three hours. What is it that is going on in this country? The whole family planning should be revamped to make it up-to-date. If you cannot do that, the nonsense that is being done now should be stopped immediately. Do it on the man. I have no opposition to that. Don't think that they will suffer it for all the time to come. Days are coming when all of us will suffer. The entire democratic movement will not wait for the change to come. I want the Government to seriously consider this.

There is one more point. We are told that a commission has been set up under the leadership of the Prime Minister. A national commission for women.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS AND WOMEN AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): It is not commission. It is a committee.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: Madam, the President read in his Address "the National Commission for Women". What is this? It is presided over by our Chairman. I know one thing about the Committee. That Committee will hold meetings once a year. I do not know when.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Why do you presume?

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: I am not presuming. I know. I do not presume and argue. I know facts. It is going to be held only once a year. They will set up so many sub-committees. They will discuss all the things under the sky. This is the so-called task assigned to that particular Commission presided over by the Prime Minister. Yes. I have seen a number of commissions in my life. I am 71. I have seen a number of commissions, a number of committees. But nothing has been done. I am not satisfied with all these things. This committee or commission business is only to prolong the issues. No use of it. It is only to prolong it to sidetrack the issues. It is not going to do anything. What I am asking for is

this. Immediately there must be a judicial inquiry into the Bihar and Assam gang rape of women...

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): The Government of Assam has already instituted an inquiry.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: I know but it is only a departmental inquiry. I do not compromise on my demand. I want a judicial inquiry into this and action must be taken against the culprits..

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Balaram, she says a judicial inquiry has been ordered.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: No, I know it for certain. No judicial inquiry has been ordered. It is only a departmental inquiry. I am demanding a judicial inquiry. What she is talking of is only a departmental inquiry...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Let her convey it to the Chief Minister.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: Yes, please convey it to your Chief Minister.

My point is we have set up so many dowry courts; we have decided to set up so many special courts to try dowry cases. But according to my information, no court has been set up so far to go into gang rapes. There are so many commissions, advisory boards, for so many other things, but nothing has been done for this. Therefore, these two things must be done immediately. All possible measures must be taken and the Government should be very alert to warn the police department. There must be a revamping of the entire outlook of the police department. This is what I am demanding. With these words I conclude.

**श्रीमती सुधा विजय जोशी** (महाराष्ट्र): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बड़ा दुख हो रहा है कि महिलाओं पर अत्याचार की बात चल रही है और इसको पोलिटिकल इश्यू बनाया जा रहा है। मेरे पूर्व वक्ता ने यह जो पोलिटिकल इश्यू बनाया है इसके लिए मुझे बडा दुख: हो रहा है। यह जो महिलाओं के ऊपर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं यह बढ़ते जा रहे हैं यह बड़े शर्म की बात है और हम सब को मिल कर के इसके खिलाफ खड़े होना है, उसका मुकाबला करना है, सामना करना है। यहां कुछ भी पोलिटिकल बात नहीं आनी चाहिए। महिलाओं के ऊपर होने वाले अत्याचार जो हैं इनकी सूची बड़ी लम्बी है। महिलाओं के जन्म के पहले ही इनके ऊपर अत्याचार शुरू होता है। गर्भ जल परीक्षा के जरिय बेटे के लिए तरसने वाले मां-बाप इस दुनियां में आने के पहले ही लड़की के गर्भ का नाश कर देते हैं। ऐसी हालत में लड़की जन्म भी ले ले तो इस समाज में सती प्रथा के जरिये उसकी मौत की भी व्यवस्था की गई है। गर्भ जल परीक्षा और सती प्रथा के बीच में बलात्कार, दहेज प्रथा, स्त्रियों की पुरुषों के मुकालबले में कम मजदूरी देना, लड़कियों को घर के काम में जुटा कर उसकी शिक्षा की रोकना, स्त्रियों को घर में दूसरे दर्जे का स्थान देना, चादर डालने जैसी प्रथा उसकी मर्जी के खिलाफ जारी रखना, वेश्या-वत्ति के लिए उसको मजबूर करना, उसको बेच डालना आदि विविध अत्याचार स्त्रियों के ऊपर इस पुरुष प्रधान समाज में होते रहे हैं। आज के ही न्यूज पेपर्ज में एक खबर आई है कि अंतर्राज्यीय जिस्म फरोश गिरोह का पर्दाफाश किया गया है। ऐसी कितनी घटनाएं हर समय होती ही रहती हैं। भारत सरकार द्वारा किये एक अध्ययन के अनुसार पिछले दस सालों में देश में महिलाओं से संबंधित गुनाह बढ़ते जा रहे हैं और पिछले तीन चार सालों में तो ये गुनाह अत्याधिक बढे हैं। बलात्कार, वैश्यावृत्ति और उससे सबंधित अपराधों का प्रमाण, और महिला संबधी गुनाहों के मुकाबले बहुत ही ज्यादा हैं। 16 से 30 साल की जो औरतें हैं, ये बलात्कार की सबसे ज्यादा शिकार होती हैं। वैसे तो ये नरपशु 2—4 साल की जो सुकोमल कलियां हैं, उनको भी नहीं छोड़ते हैं। अध्ययन के अनुसार सिर्फ दस प्रतिशत बलात्कार के केसेज में अपराधी दोषी ठहराय गय और उनको सजा दी गयी। बहुसंख्यक केसेज में कुछ न कुछ लूपहोल्स निकल आते और अपराधी रिहा हो जाते हैं और इससे यह जो अत्याचार करने की उनकी ताकत है, उनका हौसला है, यह दिन

[श्रीमती सुधा विजय जोशी]

ब दिन बढ़ता जा रहा है। यह भी एक कारण हैं, महिलाओं के ऊपर होने वाले अत्याचारों की बढ़ोत्तरी का । गृह मंत्रालय में उपलब्ध जानकारी के अनुसार 1985 में 6356 रेप केसेज, 8440 अपहरण के मुकदमें, 837 बहुओं के जलाने के मुकदमें दर्ज किये गये हैं । ये तो रिकार्ड किये हुए केसेज हैं । ऐसे कितने ही केसेज हैं, जो रिकार्ड नहीं हुए हैं । डर के मारे, लज्जा के मारे कोई भी महिला आगे नहीं आती है और रिकार्ड नहीं करवाती इन केसेज को । मेरा कहना है कि महिलाओं को निडर होकर, निसंकोच होकर आगे आकर ऐसे केसेज को रिकार्ड करवाना चाहिये, पुलिस में लिखवाना चाहिये । सरकार ने कड़े कानून बनाये हैं, पुराने कानूनों में संशोधन भी किया है, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी महिलाओं से संबंधित जो अपराध हैं, ये बढ़ते ही जा रहे है । इसका कारण यह है कि उनकी जो कार्यवाही है, यह सही ढंग से नहीं की जा रही है । अभी देखिए कि दहेज प्रतिबन्ध कानून के मुताबिक जो डाउरी प्रोहिबीशन आफिसर की नियुक्ति करने का प्रबन्ध है और उन्हें मदद करने के लिये एडवाइजरी बोर्ड स्थापित करने की व्यवस्था है, लेकिन बहुत से राज्यों में ऐसे बोर्डस् की स्थापना नहीं की गई है और ऐसे आफिसर्स की नियुक्त नहीं किये गये हैं । नवविवाहित जवान लड़की की जब मृत्यु हो जाती है, तो पुलिस से नो आब्जेक्शन सर्टिफिकेट के बगैर और उसके मैके के जो नजदीकी रिश्तेदार हैं, उन्हें मृत देह दिखाये बगैर उसका क्रिया कर्म नहीं किया जाना चाहिये, मगर इस बात का पालन ठीक से नहीं हो रहा है । कोर्टस् भी ब्राइड बर्निंग के केसेज को जल्दी से नहीं निपटाते हैं । अन्य अपराधों, जैसे बलात्कार, देह विक्रय आदि के लिये ट्राफिकिंग पुलिस आफिसर्स की भी नियुक्ति करनी चाहिये जो कि इन अपराधों की जांच करें, लेकिन इनकी नियुक्ति में भी देरी हो रही है । बहुत सारे राज्यों ने अन्तर्राज्यीय गुनाहों के लिये आवश्यक स्पेशल कोर्टस् की स्थापना भी नहीं की है इससे महिलाओं को न्याय मिलने में देरी लगती है और अपराध बढ़ते ही जाते है । इन बढ़ते हुए अपराधों का मुख्य कारण है, असामाजिक तत्व, जो महिलाओं का शोषण करते हैं, इनसे महिलाओं को बचाने में पुलिस असमर्थ रही है । इतना ही नहीं, महिलाओं के ऊपर अत्याचार करने में कहीं कहीं तो पुलिस ही अग्रसर रही है । मान्यवर, मथुरा रेप केस में, पुलिस स्टेशन पर पूछताछ के लिये मथुरा को अपने भाई और प्रियकर के साथ बुलाया गया, वह वहां गयी और उन दोनों को बाहर बैठाकर मथुरा को दो पुलिस वाले अन्दर ले गये और उस पर बलात्कार किया । लेकिन ये जो दो पुलिस वाले थे, वे निर्दोष साबित हो गये । इसका कारण क्या है ? तो बताया जाता है कि वह निर्दोष हैं । किसके आधार पर यह निर्दोष साबित हो गये ? तो बताया जाता है कि उसकी सहमति से, अनुमति से उसके साथ उन दो पुलिस वालों ने संग किया । दो पुलिस वालों ने संग किया है, अब यह कितनी नामुमकिन बात है कि उसका भाई और प्रियवर तो बाहर बैठे है और वह अपनी मरजी के साथ दो-दो पुलिस वालों के साथ सग कर रही है ।

खैर, यह जो कानून है, इसमें अभी बदली की गई है, परिवर्तन लाया गया है । अभी कुछ दिन पहले बिहार में देवघर जिले के पड़रिया नामक गांव में गई थी । इस छोटे से गांव में मुझे क्यों जाना पड़ा ? वहां पर पुलिस ने महिलाओं के ऊपर अत्याचार किये थे, उनको लटा था, लटगट की थी । वहां पर मारपीट भी हुई थी और सामूहिक बलात्कार भी हुआ था । तो उसके खिलाफ आवाज उठाने के लिये मैं वहां पर गई थी ।

यह शर्मनाक घटना जो घटी, वह 18 फरवरी को घटी थी । यह रात को घटी और रात के अंधेरे में कोई 30–40 पुलिस वाले इस गांव में पहुंचे, कुछ वर्दी में थे और कुछ बिना वर्दी के थे । उन्होंने उस गांव पर रेड डाला । हवा में गोलियां चलायीं और उसकी आवाज से डर के मारे गांव के

सारे मर्द फरार हो गये और पीछे छूटीं कुछ असहाय औरतें, कुछ जवान और कुछ बूढ़ी औरतें और बूढ़े मर्द तथा बच्चे। पुलिस घरों में घुसी, किसी का दरवाजा तोड़कर, तो किसी का छप्पर फाड़ करके और डर के मारे जो बैठी हुई औरतें थीं, उसको खींच करके जबरदस्ती बाहर निकाला गया। उनको मारा-पीटा, उन गरीबों के पास जो कुछ था, वह छीन लिया गया और उन औरतों के ऊपर बलात्कार किया गया। एक-एक औरत के ऊपर दो-दो, चार-चार पुलिस वालों ने बलात्कार किया, अत्याचार किये। उनके बूढ़े बाप जो थे, वह दया की भीख मांग रहे थे, फिर भी उनकी एक न सुनी गयी और जब हम इस गांव में पहुचे, इस गांव में जहां-जहां, जिस-जिस घर में अत्याचार हुए थे, वहां-वहां हम घरों में गये, तो औरतें बिलख-बिलख कर रो रही थीं। छह औरतें आगे आ गयीं और उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे साथ बलात्कार हुआ है। पहले तो कोई भी औरत सामने आकर ऐसी बात कहने के लिये राजी नहीं होती है, फिर भी जब कि वह सामने आती है और अपने मुंह से बोलती है कि हां, हमारे ऊपर यह घटना घटी है, ऐसे इस प्रकार से बलात्कार हुआ है, तो यही सबूत माना जाना चाहिये कि हां, जरूर हुआ है, वहां पर बलात्कार हुआ है, यह पक्की बात है यह पक्का सबूत है, ऐसे ही मानना चाहिये।

मैं तो कहती हूं कि औरत को बुरे इरादे से हाथ लगाना, यह भी पाप है और गुनाह है। मैं तो पाप नहीं कहती, क्योंकि पाप कौन मानते हैं, पाप मानते हैं, इन्सान। यह हैवान जो हैं, यह पाप बिल्कुल नहीं मानते हैं। लेकिन गुनाह तो जरूर है, उसको हाथ लगाना भी गुनाह है। तो फिर उसकी मारपीट करना यह तो बहुत बड़ा गुनाह है और उसके ऊपर बलात्कार करना, यह तो सबसे बड़ा गुनाह है और इसके लिये कड़ी से कड़ी सजा मिलनी चाहिये। पुलिस जो रक्षक है, वही जब भक्षक बन जाती है, तो औरों के मुकाबले मे इन लोगों को और ज्यादा सजा देनी चाहिये।

हमने बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री महोदय से यही मांग की है कि किसी भी हालत में कुछ लूपहोल न निकले और उसका फायदा लेकर गुनाहगार बच न निकलें। यह होना ही नही चाहिये। उनको पूरा जकड़ लेना और कड़ी से कड़ी सजा दिलवाने का प्रबन्ध करने के लिये हमने वहां के मुख्य मंत्री से कहा है। मुख्य मंत्री महोदय ने वहां 14 पुलिस वालो को निलम्बित कर दिया और तीन चौकीदारो को डिसमिस कर दिया है, लेकिन यह काफी नहीं है। उनके ऊपर क्रिमिनल केसेज चलने चाहियें और उनमे उनको किसी भी प्रकार का बेनेफिट आफ डाऊट न मिले, यही हमने बार-बार उनके समाने मांग की है। इस मामले में पुलिस ने अन्याय ही अन्याय किया है। पहले तो दुर्बल, निरपराध पत्थर की खान में मजदूरी करने वाले देहातियों पर रेड डाला, वह भी वरिष्ठों की इजाजत के बगैर यह रेड डाली थी और रात के अन्धेरे में मध्य रात्रि को रेड डाली, यह सब इलीगल है। दूसरे, पुलिस के खिलाफ केस दाखिल किया गया, वह भी एक महिला ने किया और दो दिन के बाद यानी 20 तारीख को किया। इसका मतलब यह है कि कितनी बड़ी दहशत पुलिस ने उस गांव में फैलाई थी कि कोई आकर पुलिस में तकरार भी न करे और केस भी दाखिल न कर सके। तीसरे, डाक्टर ने जो पाच औरतो की जांच करवाई, रेप के लिये और वे बार-बार पुलिस को कह रही थीं कि हमें रिक्वीजीशन दे दीजिये, रेप के लिये, लेकिन पुलिस ने नही दी उल्टे एक्सटर्नल इंजरी के लिये रिक्वीजीशन दे दी। फिर भी डाक्टर ने रेप के लिये जांच की। चौथी बात है, हमने गांव में देखा, दरवाजे तोड़े हुए थे, छत तोड़े हुए थे। मा पीट की निशानियां औरतों के ऊपर थीं और कुछ जो बूढ़े-बुजुर्ग थे, उनके ऊपर

[श्रीमती सुधा सिंघल जाटो]

दिखाई दे रही थी। तो ऐसे अत्याचार करने वाले अपराधियों को कड़ा से कड़ी सजा मिलनी चाहिये। मेरी मांग है कि जहां-जहां ऐसी घटनायें हुई हैं, सरकार उनका पूरी जांच करे और अपराधियों को दण्ड दे। मेरे पूर्व वक्ता ने असम के बारे में जिक्र किया है। असम के कोकराझार जिले में गांव भुमका में पुलिस ने रेड डाली। उस रेड के दौरान 9 आदिवासी किशोरियों पर बलात्कार किया गया। पुलिस ऐसे अत्याचार करे, तो इतनी कड़ी सजा देनी चाहिय कि सामने वाला दहल जाये और आगे चल कर किसी को ऐसा नीच कर्म करने की ताकत न हो। इस दिशा में राज्य सरकारें और केन्द्र सरकार कुछ ठोस कदम उठायें।

मान्यवर, महिलाओं को भी चाहिये कि उनके ऊपर जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, उनका वे संगठित होकर मुकाबला करें। पहले तो जिसके ऊपर अत्याचार हुआ है, वह निर्भय होकर सामने आये और केस दर्ज करे। दूसरे, महिला संस्थायें ऐसी औरतों की पूरी मदद करें, उनकी कानूनी मदद करें, उनके रहने के लिये इन्तजाम करें, नौकरी की व्यवस्था करें। ऐसी सुविधायें महिला संस्थायें पीड़ित औरतों को दे सकें, इसलिये सरकार उन्हें सहायता दे और सरकार अपनी तरफ से भी ऐसी व्यवस्था करे। तीसरे, पीड़ित औरतों को अपनाने की प्रवृत्ति हमारे समाज में आये, इसलिये हमें और सामाजिक संस्थाओं को समाज परिवर्तन का काम बड़े लगन के साथ करने की बड़ी आवश्यकता है। चौथी बात है जो इन पीड़ित महिलाओं के कुटुम्ब हैं, वे भी उनसे सहानुभूति जतायें और उन्हें सहारा दें, उन्हें बोझ न समझें। महिला पुलिस की ज्यादा संख्या में भर्ती की जाये और महिलाओं के संबंधित जो अपराध हैं, वह महिला पुलिस ही हैंडल करे।

इसके साथ-साथ, मान्यवर, सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि महिलायें अपनी ताकत को पहचानें, निर्भय हों, शिक्षित हों, और अन्याय का ऐसे डटकर मुकाबला करें कि आगे चल कर और ऐसे अन्याय, अत्याचार करन की ताकत इस पुरुष प्रधान समाज में न हो। धन्यवाद।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। व्यवस्था का प्रश्न यह है कि यह पड़रिया का केस था, जिसमें कि अभी अमानुषिक बलात्कार हुआ है और उसको हम लोगों ने स्पेशल मेंशन के लिये, विशेष उल्लेख के लिये बार-बार दिया था। आश्वासन यह था कि इसको अल्पकालिक चर्चा में परिवर्तित किया जायेगा। लेकिन अल्पकालिक चर्चा का जो रूप बना दिया गया.....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :** शार्ट ड्यूरेशन डिसकशन में यह चल रहा है।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** लेकिन शार्ट ड्यूरेशन डिसकशन का जो रूप बना दिया गया, उसमें पड़रिया को समाप्त कर दिया गया है। ऐसा लगता है कि उस भयानक कांड़ को छिपान के लिये यह बात ऐसे साहित्यिक ढंग से उल्टी गयी कि उसमें पड़रिया शब्द आ ही नहीं रहा है। दूसरा, फिर इसकी जो आपने व्यवस्था डाली वह व्यवस्था डाली, कि इसका जो डिसकशन था, वह या तो पार्टीवाइज करते थे, पार्टीवाइज भी नहीं था, उसका जो नाम था नाम के हिसाब से नाम देने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ी। जब नाम दिया है तो नाम के हिसाब से होना चाहिये और नाम के हिसाब से भी नहीं, तो जो मनमानी व्यवस्था हो करनी है, तो राज्य सभा के नियम, उप-नियम का कोई महत्व कहां रहेगा? अगर सभी पार्टी से एक-एक बोल लेते, तो बोल लेते। आपने जो तरीका निकाला, उसमें एक इधर विरोधी-दल से

से फिर कांग्रेस से, इस तरह एक विरोध से और एक कांग्रेस से बोलेगा, यह तो बजट का डिसकशन हो जायेगा। सवाल यह है कि जिसका संपर्क है, उसके संबंध में कम से कम एक-एक आदमी सब पार्टी का बोल लेता, तो ठीक था। लेकिन यह व्यवस्था आपने डाली। मैं दो बिन्दु पर आपसे व्यवस्था चाहूंगा, एक तो पड़रिया कांड का डायवर्ट होकर उसका कोई बुनियाद होना, जो आज के हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में मैं समझता हूं, मायादेवी त्यागी के काण्ड के बाद इतना बड़ा काण्ड है। वह तो एक महिला के साथ हुआ था, लेकिन यह तो जीवित अवस्था में सारे लोगों के साथ, गांव की सारी महिलाओं के साथ हुआ, बिल्कुल एक-एक महिला के साथ सामूहिक अत्याचार हुआ है। जहां तक महिलाओं के साथ अत्याचार का है, इसके लिये यह बात आया हुयी है, हमारी माननीय सदस्या वीणा जी ने एक विधेयक रखा है, उसमें काफी विस्तार के साथ कहा जा सकता था। लेकिन यहां तो पड़रिया का होना था। इसके बाद व्यवस्था है कि नाम के अनुसार, तो वह भी नाम के अनुसार नहीं हो रहा है। तो दो व्यवस्था को स्वयं ही अगर अध्यक्ष, चैयर ही व्यवस्था डालता चला जाये, तो फिर हम लोगों को तो कुछ नहीं कहना, क्योंकि हम तो आपके आदेश को मानने वाले होंगे। फिर भी इस बात को कम से कम आपको नोट कराना जरूरी समझता हूं। इस बड़े काण्ड को इतना बड़ा भारी दायरा देकर के उसको ना-बुनियाद कर देना, मैं समझता हूं कि पड़रिया काण्ड के साथ बहुत बड़ा अन्याय है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : यह ठीक है। लेकिन जिनको इस बारे में बोलना होगा, वे इस बारे में बोल सकते हैं, उसमें कोई मना नहीं है। इसका जिनको हाईलाइट करना है, उनको मना नहीं है, इसके ऊपर बोल सकते हैं और जिनको हरेक पहलू पर बोलना है, वे हरेक पहलू पर बोल सकते हैं। इसलिये शार्ट-ड्यूरेशन डिसकशन का तय किया गया था और इसके मुताबिक चल रहे हैं।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव** : शार्ट-ड्यूरेशन के लिये यह कभी नहीं कहा गया था कि इसको हम समूचे देश के बारे में रखेंगे। शार्ट-ड्यूरेशन पर जब चेयरमैन या महासचिव से बात हुई थी, तो उन्होंने कहा कि इसको हम पड़रिया को शार्ट-ड्यूरेशन में बदल रहे हैं। तब तो वह हाईलाइट होता है, नहीं तो होता नहीं। कैसे हाईलाइट होगा ?.. (**व्यवधान**) ... सारे देश के सांसद बोल रहे हैं, सारे देश पर। तो यह तो डायवर्शन हो गया।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : वह तो ठीक है। जैसा मैंने बताया कि अगर वह पाइन्ट ही हाईलाइट करें, तो कोई मना नही है। मना नहीं है, उनके बारे में। अगर कोई सदस्य ऐसा चाहते हैं कि सिर्फ ऐसा वहां पर नहीं है, देश के हरेक कोने में है, तो वे भी बोल सकते हैं।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव** : आप भी डायवर्ट हो रहे हैं, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी। मेरा कहना यह है कि जिस मुख्य-बिन्दु पर, जो आज काण्ड है, जिससे सारा गांव आतंकि[illegible] आतंकित है, सारा देश [illegible] एक ऐसा मुलम्मा चढ़ा दिया गया है कि वह काण्ड है, देश में बहुत काण्ड होते हैं, इसलिये यह हाईलाइट हो ही नहीं सकता है। आप देख नहीं रहे हैं। मान लीजिये, प्रस्तावक जो प्रस्तुत करने वाले थे, उन्होंने भी पड़रिया नाम का उल्लेख किया, बाकी सारे देश का, सारी रिपोर्ट का उल्लेख किया। आज जो वहां हाय-तौबा मची हुई है, जो स्थिति बनी हुई है, चालीस-चालीस, साठ-साठ पुलिस के आदमी जाकर समूचे गांव को रेप करें और सदन में चर्चा न हो ... (**व्यवधान**)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : मैंने बताया आपको, कि जिनको

[श्री जगेश देसाई]

इस पाइन्ट को हाईलाइट करना है, उनको मना नहीं है । लेकिन सारे देश में महिलाओं पर अत्याचार हो रहा है, इसके बारे में अगर मेम्बरान बोलेंगे, तो मुझ कोई ऐतराज नही है । इसलिये यह शार्ट-ड्यूरेशन है । (व्यवधान)

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव** :यह ट्विस्ट कर दिया है ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : यह ट्विस्ट का सवाल नहीं है । ट्विस्ट का सवाल बिल्कुल नहीं है और इसके मुताबिक हरेक पार्टी के बोलेंगे ।

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, may I seek a clarification?

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Assam): You allow women only to speak on this.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I just want to seek a clarification. It has nothing to do with what he said. I am not joining issue with him. I suppose the discussion is a general discussion. According to the order paper, it is incidents of crime against women in the country. We are totally unconcerned with any discussion that might have taken place about any Special Mention. If I speak upon incidents of crime against women, I will be well within my right. He cannot object.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Yes, Yes. Smt. Kanak Mukherjee, please.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Vice-Chairman, Sir, It is a matter of extreme shame to the whole nation that **in a country like India,** which claims to be civilised a country which is championing even the cause of world peace after four decades of independence, we have to discuss it in Parliament our **grave concern over the increasing crime** against women.

Sir, the recent shocking events of Badhoria village of Deogarh district, the mass rape of four village women by the police, the horrible incident of burning a young girl, Roop Kanwar in Deorala village of Rajasthan in the name of sati, the horrible incident of three sisters of Kanpur avoid the unusual pressure of dowry, the rape of tribal women in Kakrajhar and other incident of Maya Tyagi how many shall I quote? There are innumerable incidents of rape, bride burning, flesh trade, sale of women, examples of utter degrading situations, social crimes, insult to Indian womanhood, nay to the entire humanity is taking place. All this is taking place under the rule of Congress (I), I must say. Now, our hon. friends have said, do not connect this women's issue with politics. Very good. But, Sir, we are helpless when police commits atrocities on women, when atrocities are committed on women in the custody of the police, the administration, the police, the Government, the condition of the administration, the socio-economic-political situation, the norms of social values, everything is concerned, how the police is dissociated from the politics and the Government? I do not know. So, I am very sorry for all this. It is not with malice that things are connected with Politics. But we are helpless and we have to see all this. Sir, the Central Government and the Congress (I) Party shed much tears, crocodile tears for women. In the last few years we have seen that we have passed legislations and amended some other legislations on dowry, on atrocities on women, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women Act, and so on and so forth. But all these freshly passed laws and amended laws are on paper only. They are not implemented in actual reality. Why? Because the real condition is absolutely different. So. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Your party only rapes democracy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Order please.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: Will you please allow me to continue?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: The Congress (I) *rapes democracy*.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: Please allow me to finish my speech. I have been listening patiently to all the speeches of the Treasury Benches. Now, we have passed this legislation. We have recently passed an eye-wash of legislation regarding sati burning also. But our Government has passed legislation on Muslim Women also.

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Even unmarried women are offering sati.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: Sir, I refuse to be disturbed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): *Mr. Mohanan, please* take care of yourself.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: So, the Government has passed legislation on Muslim Women also, taking away the minimum rights they had, the right of protection of law on talaq, indiscriminate talaqs. Why is all this being done? It is being done because they want to make women only their vote boxes. So, why is all this happening? Why crimes against women are increasing. I will just give you a little quotation from the 'Times of India' of the 11th April, 1987. "Crimes against women have been showing a singular increase over time. This is borne out not only by reports in the media but also by the data collected by the Bureau of Police Research and Development. From the early seventies up to the mid-eighties, crimes against women, registered under the Indian Penal Code and among them the cases of rape, have more than doubled. Thus in 1985, the available data for 22 States of the country showed that 6,189 cases of kidnapping of women and 802 cases of dowry were registered. And up to July 1986 in Madhya Pradesh alone, which heads the list for crimes against women, there were 904 cases of rape, 2732 cases of molestation, 1621 cases of kidnapping, 280 cases of eve-teasing and 310 cases of dowry death etc....However, whatever be the social status of the criminal in such cases, the women against whom the crimes are perpetrated are always at the lower end of the socio-economic power balance. These figures have already been given by many Members. Now, it is known that 97 per cent cases of rape are either cancelled or the cases are not even registered in the police stations. This is what the study of the Police Research Bureau reveals. In 1986, 1319 dowry death cases were registered in the country, as against 837 in 1985. In the first six months of 1987, 300 cases of death by burning are reported in Delhi itself. This is the inforamtion given to Parliament in August 1987. There is so much of similar information available but I do not want to prolong my speech by giving you these facts, one after another. What is the material background of all this? What is the causes? The crimes against women are on the increase. Cases of rape, dowry death, burning and all such crimes are increasing Sir, the deteriorating economic condition of people, unemployment, ruling party's political and economic policies, anti-people policies, are connected with the socio-economic condition of the people. More and more people are becoming unemployed. People are pushed below poverty line. Women are the worst sufferers. Cultural decadence also sets in along with the role played by our media, our radio, television, cinema and the newspapers who depict women as the sex object. We have discussed it many times in the House as to how women are projected through the media. I am happy that friends from both the sides agree with me that projection of women in the media is shameless when they depict woman as a sex object, only to be enjoyed, to be exploited. So, that is how our young generation is being taught by the media. Our young generation are not taught about our cultural principles, our norms, social values etc. and they are not taught to respect their own mothers and sisters. This is the decadent condition of culture where the Congress-I Government has landed us to. This deteriorating economic and social condition is greatly responsible for this decay in social status of women. I know Government of India formed a committee, status committee in 1971. They gave a big report. I have

[Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee]

it with me, and they say that socio-economic condition is inter-related with the status of women in this country.

They gave beautiful suggestions but they were never implemented by this Government. Actually this Government cuts jokes at the plight of the women. Now they came forward with a budget. Here also they are trying to say that they want to please the women. This is how our hon. Finance Minister has pleased the women. They have made the ulta and sindoors cheaper. Look at this. On the one hand women are being retrenched, there are gang rapes, there are mass atrocities on them, and here they are making ulta and sindoors cheaper. In the budget there is no provision for more employment opportunities for women, there is no provision to raise the status of women. They are not teaching the young generation to respect their own mothers and sisters, but they are making ulta and sindoors cheaper. What is this? This is the mockery. Government is cutting jokes at the plight of the women. They are introducing advanced technology which is throwing women out of employment. They are introducing computer which will throw the women out of employment. What is happening now? There is more and more retrenchment of women. (*Time bell rings*). A grave situation has arisen. It concerns the entire womanhood and motherhood of India. All of you must be concerned about this. There should be no bickering at each other's party. You must take it seriously Today, the honour of our women is at stake. But they are indulging in politics. The Treasury Benches are indulging in politicising each and every issue. They are trying to hide the crimes of the Government. They are not associating with us when we say that atrocities are being committed on women, only yesterday hundreds of women were arrested women were lathi-charged, they were beaten their arms and legs were broken inside the police custody. But they are not joining their voice against these police atrocities inside the police custody. Is it not a partisan attitude, is it not partisan politics?

Now, Sir, many Acts are there. The Minimum Wage Act is there, Equal Remuneration Act is there, but women are not being given equal wages. There is heavy retrenchment in coal, in tobacco, in tea, in all the organised sectors. Women are being thrown to the unorganised sectors. And the Government says that the home-made industry will help them. This is the plight of women. With the introduction of every budget, more and more women are thrown out of employment. In the unorganised sectors, in the small industries, there is no minimum wage system, no system of equal wage. Health hazards are there and there is no safety and security. This is the condition of women. About their economic condition I have already mentioned that they are having the lowest status, they are the worst sufferers. It is true, now the Government is looking to the boxes only. There is a total failure of the Government to protect the interest of the common man, to safeguard the honour and dignity of women, to give safety and security to the mothers and sisters. So, the status of women in the country is the lowest. It is a matter of shame. Of course, but we have to admit that these serious cases are taking place in Congress-ruled States. I have nothing to be happy over this. (Interruptions). I am sorry to say all this, but all these incidents are taking place in those States mainly, in Deorala, in Pipra, in Narainpur, in Madhya Pradesh, in U.P., in Bihar, everywhere.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH (Bihar): There are a large number of incidents in West Bengal also.

5.00 P.M.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: Yes, anti-social elements are there because Congress(I) people are still there.

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : पुलिस का चरित्र ही ऐसा हो गया है । हर राज्य में करती है ।

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: I know. Just see in this newspaper cutting what is the record of rape by Bihar cops? I quote Newtimes, 11.3.88.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You have taken much more time. Now please conclude.

SHRIMATI KANAK BUKHERJEE: This is the record.

1980: A DSP led a gang-rape assault in Galaur village of Munger district.

1981: Five senior police officers raped a nurse in Chakai block in Munger district.

1985: A policeman raped Kaushalya, wife of Ratan Sahu of Kasowan village.

1987: Five government reserve police men tried to rape Shanichari Devi of Betiah.

1988: A teen-aged girl was gang-raped by policemen inside the police station near Patna.

So the policemen, the custodians of law and order, are mostly involved in such crimes, what to talk of others?

Now women are losing faith in this Congress(I) Government, it is true. My hon. friend from that side has said that in the last three or four years, the crime has been increasing. Yes, under the regime of Rajiv Gandhi Government, the crime is increasing. She has already admitted it... because the political economic condition is deteriorating very fast.

I am concluding, Sir. So the women, in general, are getting more and more disillusioned with this rotten, hopeless Government. On 9th December last, lakhs of people came to the Boat Club. They assembled there to raise their voice to demand the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi Government. Women know that under the regime of Rajiv Gandhi Government their honour and status cannot be safe. They are fighting, struggling to overthrow this Government and to create a new society where there can be equality between men and women, where women cannot be exploited and where the honour and status of women can be safe. It cannot be under this Government. That is all I can say.

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सचमुच में बहस करने के तरीके से दुखी हूं क्योंकि यह समस्या राज्य की नहीं है । यह केन्द्र सरकार के चलते हुई है या इस राज्य मे अमुक पार्टी है इसलिये वहां ला एंड आर्डर अच्छा है मैं इससे सहमत नहीं हूं । यह आंकड़े बोलते हैं । मेरे पास आंकड़े हैं मैं आगे बताऊंगा कि गैर कांग्रेसी राज्यों मे बलात्कार की घटनायें वैसी ही हैं बल्कि कुछ ज्यादा ही हैं । मैं बहस के दौरान बाद में बताऊंगा कि इसके क्या कारण हैं। जैसा जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव जी ने कहा जिस घटना को लेकर यहां बहस हो रही है उन घटनाओं के बारे में चर्चा कम हो रही है ' मैं चाहूंगा कि इस पर ज्यादा चर्चा करूं ।

महिलाओं पर अत्याचार बहुत दिनों से होता आ रहा है । जब कभी भी कोई हमलावर इस देश में आता रहा है तो संपत्ति लूटने के साथ-साथ महिलाओं पर अत्याचार करता था । लेकिन आजाद भारत में अपनी पुलिस अपने लोगों पर अत्याचार करे, महिलाओं पर अत्याचार करे यह बात समझ में नहीं आती । इसके कारण क्या हैं? इसका कारण यह है कि जिन काननों को ब्रिटिश हुकूमत ने बनाया था यहां के लोगों को दबाने के लिये, वे कानून ज्यों के त्यों बने हुये हैं । वुमन पर एट्रोसीटीज के बारे में अथवा बलात्कार को रोकने के लिये उन्होंने जो कानून बनाये थे, वे अभी भी बने हुये हैं । मैं समझता हूं कि इन अत्याचारों के पीछे जो मूल कारण हैं वह यह है कि ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट ने जो कानून बनाये थे, यहां के लोगों को दबाने के लिये जो कानून बनाये थे, वे सारे कानून ज्यों के त्यों हमारे यहां बने हुये हैं । उन कानूनों के सहारे ही आज सारे काम होते हैं । उदाहरण के लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आप सी. आर.पी.सी. को ले लीजिये । इसमें आफिसर इंचार्ज ऐसा वर्ड है कि उसमें डायरेक्टर जनरल आफ पुलिस भी थाने का इंचार्ज हो जाता है, और थानेदार भी

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

उसका इंचार्ज हो जाता है । थाने का जो इंचार्ज होता है उसको अपने इलाके में प्रेजीडेंट से भी ज्यादा पावर्स हैं । वह जिस को चाहे गिरफ्तार कर सकता है, जिस पर चाहे चार्ज लगा सकता है, जिसको चाहे अपराध से मुक्त कर सकता है । मेरा कहना यह है कि आई.जी., डायरेक्टर जनरल आफ पुलिस और दूसरे जो अफसर होते हैं उनको बहुत व्यापक अधिकार मिले हुये है और ये अधिकार बहुत भयानक हैं । इसके संदर्भ में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मुल्क के अन्दर जब तक इन कानूनों के बारे में सोचा नही जायेगा, उनको बदला नहीं जायेगा, तब तक पुलिस की एट्रोसीटीज के बारे में आप कितनी भी बहस करें, कोई बात बनने वाली नहीं है । कोई भी पुलिस का अधिकारी या पुलिस कर्मचारी बलात्कार कर दे, रेप कर दे तो उसको बचाने के लिये पुलिस के सारे लोग आ जायेंगे । दारोगा बचाने के लिये आ जायेगा, इंस्पेक्टर बचाने के लिये आ जायेगा, आई.जी. बचाने के लिये आ जायेगा, एस.पी. बचाने के लिये आ जायेगा और अगर आई.जी. से भी ऊपर की बात कहें तो पोलिटिकल लोग भी इंटरवीन करने लगते हैं । अगर आई.जी. पुलिस थाने में जाता है और पोलिटिकल प्रेसर से कह देता है कि यह आदमी अपराध मुक्त है तो वह आदमी अपराध मुक्त हो जाता है । यही हालत एस.पी. की है । जो भी इंचार्ज होता है, वह अपराधी को अपराध मुक्त कर सकता है । एक प्रकार से यह हाइरार्की बन गई है । इसको तोड़ने के लिये पूरे सदन को और पार्लियामेंट को विचार करना पड़ेगा । जब तक आप इसको नहीं तोड़ेंगे तब से अपराध बन्द होने वाले नहीं हैं । ये कानून किन लोगों के बनाये हुये हैं ? सात समुद्र पार जो लोग हमारे देश में शासन करने आये, उन मुट्ठी भर अंग्रेजों ने ये कानून बनाये हैं । पहले यह स्थिति थी, आई.जी. अंग्रेज होता था, एस.पी. अंग्रेज होता था । ये लोग बाकी सब लोगों पर शासन करते थे । दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आजाद भारत में आज भी वे कानून ज्यों के त्यों बने हुये हैं । क्या हम में इतनी क्षमता नहीं है कि हम इन गुलामी के कानूनों को हटा दें ?

महोदय, मैं दो घटनाओं का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूं । जैसा मैंने कहा था, इस घटना के दूसरे दिन ही, परड़िया कांड के दूसरे दिन ही, मैंने अध्यक्ष महोदय से बात की थी । दूसरे दिन मुझे सूचना मिली कि आसाम में कोकराझार में भी बलात्कार की घटना हुई । इन घटनाओं के बारे में मैं आपके माध्यम से सदन को कुछ विस्तृत रिपोर्ट देना चाहता हूं ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :** विस्तृत नहीं, संक्षेप में कहिए । अगर आप विस्तार में जाएंगे तो आपके कई पॉइन्ट्स रह जायेंगे क्योंकि टाइम बहुत कम है।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :** मैं संक्षेप में ही कहूंगा । सदन के रिकार्ड में सब बातें आ जायें, इसलिए कहना पड़ेगा।

महोदय, 21 तारीख को सवेरे यहां के अखबारों में पांच कालम्स में एक न्यूज छपी और उसकी तस्वीर भी छपी। मैंने तुरन्त वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर से टेलीफोन पर बात करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन वे नहीं मिले। चीफ सैक्रेटरी से भी सम्पर्क किया। आई. जी. पुलिस से कहा कि परड़िया में यह घटना घटी है, आप वहां क्यों नहीं गये? ऐसा लगा कि उनकी निगाह में यह कोई बड़ी घटना नहीं घटी है। उन्होंने कहा कि ठीक है, हमने रिपोर्ट मांगी है। मैंने कहा कि आपने रिपोर्ट तो मंगाई है, आप वहां गये क्यों नहीं? हवाई जहाज है, हैलीकोप्टर है। उन्होंने कहा कि आप तो जाएंगे आप रिपोर्ट दे दीजिए। हमने कहा कि हमें रिपोर्ट देने के लिए कहते हो, मैं साफ कहता हूं कि मैंने कहा कि *हम से रिपोर्ट देने के लिए कहते हो.... (व्यवधान) , मैंने यह बात अंग्रेजी में कही।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): If that word is unparliamentary, it should be removed.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: If it is true and if a Police official asks a Member of

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

Parliament to go and send a report to him, then it should be taken seriously.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: It should go on record.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: I was talking in English. I said:

> "Nonsense. Do you expect a Member of Parliament will submit a report to DG? I will submit my report to Parliament or to the Prime Minister or to the Chief Minister."

I said this in English. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Let us take it very seriously... (व्यवधान)

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : बात आगे बढ़ाने दीजिए क्यों टोक रहे हैं।

इतनी बड़ी घटना घट गई लेकिन उसके मन में कोई पीड़ा नहीं, कोई वेदना नहीं। मैंने वहां से आकर चीफ मिनिस्टर को रिपोर्ट दी। वहां जब मैं गया तो वहां जो हालत देखी उसको बयान करना बड़ा मुश्किल है। सारे घरों के दरवाजे तोड़े हुए थे और महिलाओं की दशा देखकर, उनकी तस्वीरें मेरे पास हैं आप कहें तो मैं दिखाऊं, ऐसी स्थिति थी कि कोई भी भला आदमी अगर वहां जाता तो वह जरूर रो पड़ता, उसकी आंखें छलछला आती। आधी ही औरतें गई जिनकी हालत बहुत खराब थी केवल उनको ले जाया गया। लेकिन जिन औरतों के साथ एक-दो आदमियों ने ही बलात्कार किया, जिनकी हालत इतनी खराब नहीं हुई थी वे नहीं गई। जिन लड़कियों की शादी नहीं हुई थी उन्होंने नहीं कहा कि हमारे साथ बलात्कार हुआ है। वहां एक जयाराम महतो कर के बूढ़ा आदमी है जो करीब करीब 75 वर्ष का है। उसके पाखाने के रास्ते में लाठी कोच दी गई और वह लहू लुहान था। उसके कपड़े देखे, वे फटे हुए थे। उसको पुलिस ने कहा कि अगर तुम अस्पताल आओगे तो हम तुम्हें जेल में बंद कर देंगे। मैं सब का नाम ले सकता हूं लेकिन लम्बी लिस्ट है इसलिए नहीं ले सकता। इसमें रदिया देवी ने कहा कि मेरे साथ तीन आदमियों ने बलात्कार किया। उनमें एक मोटा आदमी था जो कह रहा था कि मैं बड़ा दरोगा हूं, हल्ला मत करो। इस ढंग से वहां पर इन लोगों ने काम किया। मैं उन सब का नाम ले सकता हूं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : ठीक है अभी नहीं समय कम है।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : यह पूरी रिपोर्ट है। आप अगर कहें तो इसको प्रौसीडिंग का अंग बना दूं। संक्षेप में मैं इसको...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : टाइम नहीं है। आपने जो हाई-लाइट करना था कर दिया।

**श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी** : जो जरूरी है वह कह दें।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : यह जो घटना है तो इस घटना से पता चलता है कि जब पुलिस के किसी आफिसर या सिपाही का अपमान हो जाता है तो वे किस प्रकार बदला लेते हैं। एक बूढ़ी औरत थी। उसकी एक लड़की थी, उसका नाम है चितली देवी। वह बुढ़िया अपनी लड़की के साथ पुनासी बाजार में गई। वहां उसका दामाद भी बाजार में आया था। लड़की डेढ़ वर्ष से अपनी ससुराल नहीं जा रही थी। दामाद ने उस लड़की से कहा कि मेरे यहां नहीं चलोगी क्या, अपनी मां के यहां ही रहोगी। इस पर लड़की ने कहा कि मेरा चलने का मन है लेकिन मां है। अगर तुम हमारा हाथ पकड़ लो तो हम तुम्हारे साथ चलेंगे। हम मां को छोड़कर खुद नहीं जायेंगे। उसने उसका हाथ पकड़ लिया और कहा कि चलो मेरे साथ। जब वह साथ में चलने लगी तो बुढ़िया रोने लगी कि मेरे बेटी को ले जा रहा है। वह चिल्लाने लगी। एक सिपाही राम प्रसाद राय और एक चौकीदार ने उस लड़के को पकड़ कर कहा कि तुम इसे कहां ले जा रहे हो, चलो जेल में। बुढ़िया ने कहा कि

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

यह मेरा दामाद है और अगर लड़की नहीं मान रही है तो ले जाने दीजिए। मुझे दुख इतना ही है कि अगर यह मेरे घर से जाती तो मैं कपड़े-लत्ते और कुछ रुपये पैसे देकर विदा करती। सिपाही कहने लगा कि नहीं इसने बाजार में कानून तोड़ा है इसको जेल ले जायेंगे। तब उसने कहा कि भाई इसको न ले जाइये हम अपने पास से 100 रुपये देते हैं हमारे दामाद और बेटी को जेल में बंद मत करो। तो कहा कि नहीं तीन सौ रूपये देने पड़ेंगे। लड़के ने कहा कि दो सौ रुपये हम दे देंगे और 100 रुपये हमारी सास ने दे दिया। इस प्रकार वह अपनी पत्नी को लेकर घर चला गया। रात को 12.1 बजे राम प्रसाद राय सिपाही चौकीदार और चार पांच लोग वहां पहुंचे और उनका दरवाजा पीटने लगे जिस में मिया-बीबी सोए हुए थे इसके बाद उसका बाप उठा जिसका नाम जोगेन्द्र यादव था उसने कहा कि हमारी बहू सोई हुई है तुम कौन हो क्यों जगा रहे हो? उन लोगों ने कहा हमने उससे पैसा लेना है अगर ज्यादा बोलोगे तो मारेंगे। इसी पर उन्होंने बूढ़े को दो तीन लाठी पीठ पर मार दीं। जब बेटे ने सुना कि बाप को मार रहे हैं और वह रो रहा है तो अपना दरवाजा खोलकर के वह बाहर निकला और दो डंडे सिपाही को तथा दो डंडे चौकीदार को मार दिए। यह स्वाभाविक है अगर हमारे बाप को कोई मारेगा और हम वहां रहेंगे तो केस करने तो नहीं जाएंगे। इसके बाद वह लोग चले गये गैंग बना कर उस बढ़िया के पास गये और उस बूढ़िया से जाली दस्तखत कराए और ठेपा कराया और 12 आदमियों का नाम लिखाया कि यह हमारी हंसली छीन रहे थे। इस एफिडेविट की कापी मेरे पास है। यह वही बूढ़िया है जिसकी लड़की यहां आई थी। तो 12 आदमियों का नाम उसने दिया और इन 12 आदमियों को पकड़ने के बहाने यहां आया जबकि बढ़िया ने एफिडेविट कर दिया कि हमने ऐसा कोई केस नहीं किया है। अब 12 आदमी तो जेल चले गये लेकिन जिन पर रेप का चार्ज है वे लोग जेल नहीं गये। कारण यह है कि यह हमारी कमजोरी है। जो रेप का कानून हमने बनाया है उसमें जो अमेंडमेंट हुआ है उस में यह है कि औरत अगर कह केवल बिना एवीडेंस के भी हमसे रेप किया गया है या रेप करने का प्रयास किया गया है तो वह कान्नीजेबल आफेंस है उस में गवाही की जरुरत भी नहीं है उस में नान-बेलेबल गिरफ्तारी होती है। इस में तो औरतों ने कहा, बयान दिया लेकिन इतने दिनों तक जाली ठप्पा पर और एफिडेविट करने के बाद भी उन 12 आदमियों को रिलीज नहीं किया गया और उन लोगों को जो मुजरिम हैं उनको गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया। तो यह मेरा कहना है कि जो कानून हम बनाते हैं उनका हम पालन नहीं करवा पाते हैं। यह सब से बड़ी हमारी मजबूरी है। इसीलिए यह सारी गड़बड़िया चलती हैं। हमारी मांग है पड़रिया कांड के बारे में चौकीदार डिसमिस हो गया लेकिन उसके साथ जो सिपाही था उसको डिसमिस नहीं किया गया जबकि दोनों ने एक ही अपराध किया। दोनों को डिसमिस किया जाना चाहिए था। लेकिन चौकीदार क्योंकि कमजोर है उसको डिसमिस कर दिया गया। इस बलात्कार की समस्या का एक दूसरा एस्पैक्ट है जो मैं कहना चाहूंगा।

अभी आसाम में जो घटना घटी है, उसके बारे में मुझे कहना है। **(व्यवधान)** ऐसा मजाक मत करिये, आप लोग तो शेर बबर हैं, हम जानते हैं, घोष जी। **(व्यवधान)**

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : आप संक्षेप में बोलिये, टाइम नहीं है। पांच मिनट में खत्म कीजिये।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : महोदय, आम तौर पर जितनी बलात्कार की घटनायें होती हैं, वे अक्सर हरिजनों की औरतों के साथ ज्यादा होती हैं। पुलिस रेप करती है, आदिवासियों के साथ और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों की औरतों के साथ। 95 प्रतिशत घटनायें कमजोर वर्गों की औरतों के साथ होती हैं। इसका

कारण यह है कि पुलिस में उनकी संख्या नहीं है। यह शासक वर्ग सामन्ती चरित्र के लोग पुलिस में हैं, इसलिये पुलिस का कर्मी जो है या पुलिस पदाधिकारी जो है, वह रेप करने में इन वर्गों की औरतों के साथ थोड़ी सी भी हिचकिचाहट महसूस नहीं करता है। आसाम के कोकढ़ाझाड़ जिले में . . .

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :** आपका टाइम हो गया है। आप आसाम के बारे में बोलना चाहते हैं तो थोड़ा सा बोल दीजिये।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :** महोदय, सरफुनगुड़ी थाने की जो घटना है, भूमका गांव की जो घटना घटी, वह दो तारीख को घटी। एक घटना 25 जनवरी को घटी और दूसरी घटना 27 जनवरी को घटी। इन घटनाओं का बैकग्राउण्ड यह है कि वहां ट्राइबल्स के जो ग्रुप हैं, वे दो भागों में बंट गये, बी.टी.सी.ए. और यू.एल.टी.एन.एफ.। तो प्लेन ट्राइबल काउन्सिल के आदमी जो बोडो कम्युनिटी के आदिवासी हैं, ये लड़ रहे हैं कि हमारा अलग राज्य बनाओ। ये थोड़े माइल्ड हैं और यू.एल.टी.एन.एफ. के लोग थोड़े एग्रेसिव हैं। इनको दबाने के लिये यह सारी रचना रची गयी। समरेन्द्र बसुमतारी उम्र 25 और दिनू बसुमतारी उम्र 23 ये दो नौजवान हैं, ये लडते रहते हैं और बहुत एग्रेसिव ढंग से लड़ते हैं। किसी एक आदमी की हत्या भी हो गयी है, डेढ़ दो महीने पहले, उसी के केस में उनको इन्वाल्व करके उनको दबाने के लिये समरेन्द्र बसुमतारी की मां और उसकी तीन बहिनों तथा एक नौकरानी का रेप किया गया। उनके घर का दरवाजा तोड़ा गया, उनका धान लूटा गया, घर जलाया गया। इसके सारे फोटोग्राफ मेरे पास मौजूद है, आप कहें तो मैं आपको दिखा दूं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :** आप लाबी में दिखा दीजियेगा।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :** यहां आप रख सकते हैं और महोदय वहां महिलाओं के सारे भाषणों को मैंने टेप किया, टेप के साथ-साथ मैंने फोटोग्राफी भी की। जांच में जो दो मैजिस्ट्रेट गये थे एक श्री वर्मन और दूसरे श्री गुप्ता उनके सामने मैंने फोटोग्राफी की और टेप भी किया, ताकि यह वर्शन बदल न जाये, तो दो मैजिस्ट्रेट हमारे सामने मौजूद थे, सरकार के दो आदमी। वहां से जब मैं वापस लौटा, तो एस.पी. को और डाक्टर को सरकिट हाउस बुलाया, बुलाने के बाद उनका बयान भी मैंने टेप पर लिया। टेप पर भाषण करते हुए मैंने उनके फोटोग्राफ्स भी लिये। जो उनके एस.पी. थे, श्री तायल उन्होंने इस बात को कबूल किया कि रेप हुआ, लेकिन 5 महिलाओं के साथ नहीं, 3 के साथ हुआ है। चूंकि दो रेप हुए थे, समरेन्द्र बसुमतारी की मां, उसका नाम है ... **(व्यवधान)** और दूसरा उसकी नौकरानी के साथ, यह 25 को हुआ तथा 27 को जो रेप हुआ, उसकी डाक्टरी जांच प्रमिला ब्रह्म जो महिला कल्याण परिषद् आसाम की अध्यक्षा है, उन्होंने करायी और उन्होंने स्पेशल मैजिस्ट्रेट के यहां केस किया। डी.सी. के यहा एक दरख्वास्त दी और डी. सी. थे नही, इसलिये ए.डी.सी. ने एस. पी. को लिखा, लेकिन एस.पी. श्री तायल ने कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं ली, उसने ए.एस.पी. को दे दिया। यह घटना 27 से लेकर 22 फरवरी तक हुई, लेकिन इसमें कोई छेड़छाड़ नहीं की गयी, कुछ नहीं किया गया, न डाक्टर से रिपोर्ट मांगी गयी, न डाक्टर की रिपोर्ट के ऊपर कार्यवाही की गयी। एक डाक्टर को कहा गया, आप सोये रहे. **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: Sir, there is no point in discussing it. Nine police men have been suspended. The matter is *sub-judice*. He should not be allowed to go in detail. Why should he discuss a matter which is *sub-judice*? You should not allow it. (*Interruption*) . . . .

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: Every discussion is *sub judice*.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: I know very well.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Is it *sub judice?*

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: I feel it is.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): This matter is not *sub judice.*

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: Every case is *sub julice.* Aa case has been filed. Even in Parenia incident a case has been filed. In Gumkar incident, a case has been filed and we are demanding that a stringent action should be taken.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): She is on a point of Order.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: My point of order is this. As Mr. Basumatari said just now, I want to know from the Chair whether we are discussing the atrocities on women as a whole or the description or narration of incidents in Bihar, Assam, etc.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): There is no point of order on this issue. You can highlight whatever you want. If it is *sub judice,* you have to take much care. Do not give names and other things.

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :** एस० पी० ने खुद इस बात को स्वीकार किया . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You do one thing. You have gone there. You only narrate what you have seen. Do not talk about the merits of the case.

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :** यही तो इम्पार्टेन्ट है कि एस०पी० बताता है, मुझको कि अगर हमारे पास सीधे आई होती, तो हम गिरफ्तार करते, हम पुलिस को सजा देते, यह लोग डी० सी० के पास गये हैं, यह गये हैं, केस करने, इसलिये हम सजा नहीं दे सके।

यही इम्पार्टेन्ट चीज है। मि० तायल ने जो कहा, वह यही है कि इनको पब्लिसिटी में विश्वास है, इसलिये पब्लिसिटी कर रहे हैं, यह प्रमिला ब्रह्म।

हमने कहा कि नहीं यह घटना 27 तारीख की है, 28 तारीख को मेडिकल एक्जामिनेशन हुआ, 3 फरवरी को पांच हजार महिलाओं ने प्रदर्शन किया कोकराझार डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैडक्वार्टर में, इससे अधिक क्या कहा जा सकता है पुलिस सुपरिटेंडेन्ट से। यह तो बहुत जबरदस्त ढंग से कहा गया कि आपने एक्शन क्यों नहीं लिया? इसका जब व उसके पास नहीं था, लेकिन पहले उसने कहा कि हमारे पास आते, तो हम तो दंड देते, मतलब अहं में बोल रहा था। तो अहंकार में प्रदर्शन करके बोलना ज्यादा ताकतवर भाषा है कि दर्खास्त देकर?

उसने कहा कि विक्टिम को मेरे पास नहीं लाया गया। हमने कहा कि आप विक्टिम के पास क्यों नहीं गये? इसका मतलब है कि आपका मन चढ़ा हुआ है और आप न्याय नहीं देना चाहते। यह घटना है—उसके बारे में मैं कहना चाहता था कि बहुत इम्पार्टेंट बात है। अंत में मैं कहना चाहता हूं.....

महोदय, मैंने शुरू में जो कहा था, उसी पर आकर मैं अंत करना चाहता हूं। डा० लोहिया ने कहा था कि पुलिस का चरित्र ऐसा होना चाहिए कि सज्जन तो उससे सट जाए और दुर्जन दूर भाग जाए, लेकिन आज पुलिस का चरित्र ऐसा हो गया है—क्योंकि अंग्रेजों ने ऐसा बनाया था कि दुर्जन तो पुलिस से सट जाते हैं और सज्जन दूर भाग जाते हैं, क्योंकि जो व्यवस्था है, जब हम लोगों का देश परतंत्र था, उस समय से ही यह व्यवस्था चली आ रही है कि जब अंग्रेज जज इंग्लैंड

में बैठता है और कहता था कि यह पुलिस की रिपोर्ट—इस पर अविश्वास नहीं किया जा सकता है, यानी पुलिस का चरित्र इतना ऊंचा रखा । हमारे यहां जब वही जज ट्रांसफर होकर आता, तो कहता था कि —

This is police report. This cannot be believed.

मतलब कि यह पुलिस की रिपोर्ट है, इस पर विश्वास नहीं किया जा सकता है। तो अंग्रेजों ने जो पुलिस का चरित्र बना कर के रखा है, सी आर० पी० सी० में जो व्यवस्था है, उन सब को मिला करके हमने पुलिस को ऐसा बना दिया है कि पुलिस तो खुद ही अत्याचार करती है। और सामन्तों के जरिए, जिसके बीच से पुलिस फोर्स आती है उनको भी अत्याचार करने के लिए दलितों पर, पिछड़ों पर, हरिजनों पर और आदिवासियों पर अत्याचार करने के लिए प्रोत्साहित करती है। दुर्जनों को अपने पास बैठाती है और थाने में चाय पिलाती है। इस पर एक मौलिक बात महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से और सदन की बहस के जरिए सरकार को कहना चाहता हूं कि मौलिक चिन्तन बदलना चाहिए और पुलिस को सेन्ट्रलाइज नहीं करना चाहिए । जब तक पुलिस सैन्ट्रलाइजड रहेगी और इस आजाद देश में एस. पी. जैसा खूंखार जानवर काम करता रहेगा, डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट जैसा खूंखार जानवर बैठा रहेगा तब तक कानून और व्यवस्था कभी ठीक नहीं हो सकती है। आप अमरीका में जाइये, जनतंत्रीय देश ; वहां पर वह डी-सैन्ट्रलाइज है। पंचायत की पुलिस अलग है, काउंटी की पुलिस अलग है, डिस्ट्रिक्ट की अलग है, प्रोविन्स की पुलिस अलग है । लेकिन यहां पर पुलिस सैन्ट्रलाइजड है । अगर एक आदमी टाप पर पहुंच गया जैसे डी. जी. था हमारे और इसी जाति का राम प्रसाद राय जमादार था पुलिस कांस्टेबल और वह भी समझता है कि वह भी डी. जी. है । वहां पर दूसरा जो सिपाही था जमादार था शर्मा वह भी डी. जी. की जाति का था वह समझता है कि हमारा राज हो गया और हमारे खिलाफ कोई कुछ नहीं कर सकता। डी. जी. हमको बचा लेगा। इसलिए पुलिस सिस्टम को हमें डी-सैन्ट्रलाईज करना चाहिए यह मुख्य बात है।

महोदय अंत में आपको धन्यवाद करते हुए मैं मांग करता हूं....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : आप दो मिनट ; खत्म कर दीजिए ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : ठीक है। इस में दो-तीन मांगें हैं। संसदीय समिति से इन दोनों घटनाओं की जांच कराई जाए जो कि सर्वदलीय हो और उसकी रिपोर्ट के आधार पर समरी ट्राइल हो इन केसों की तीन महीने के अन्दर, दो महीने के अन्दर या एक महीने के अन्दर मुजरिमों को सजा दी जाए । साथ ही असाम के एस. पी. को गिरफ्तार करने की मैं मांग करता हूं और हमारे यहां का जो एस. पी., डी. एस. पी. है सब को गिरफ्तार करें क्योंकि जब तक इनको गिरफ्तार नहीं करेंगे वह मामला बनने वाला नहीं है। आपको याद है हमारे समय ; जनता पार्टी ने डी. आई. जी. को गिरफ्तार किया था ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)** : वह तो हो गया अब बता दीजिए कि क्या करना है ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : समरी ट्रायल अंतिम है और उनको क्षतिपूर्ति दी जाए कम से कम जितने परिवारों को लूटा गया है उनके गहने जेवरात आदि ऐसे रिपोर्ट मेरे पास है, मैं दे नहीं पाया वहां पर उनको बहुत लूटा गया है, उनके गहने-जेवरात सब लूट लिए गए हैं पडरिया वाली घटना में और उनका और भी सामान लूटा गया है। इसलिए उन लोगों को हर्जाने के रूप में एक-एक लाख रूपये सरकार दे। वहां की राज्य सरकार दे या केन्द्रीय सरकार दे इससे हमको कोई मतलब नहीं है, लेकिन यहां जो बहस हो रही है उस में कम से कम इतना वजन होना चाहिए कि वहां की राज्य सरकार

[श्री राम अवधे सिंह]

या यहां की केन्द्रीय सरकार, दोनों उनको हर्जाना दें। साथ ही उनके दोषियों को समरी ट्रायल के जरिए सजा दी जाये धन्यवाद।

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to speak with a deep sense of anguish and a deep sense of helplessness. What can you say about the atrocities against women in a country like ours? Even yesterday we saw noisy scenes in both the Houses. All over the country people are up in arms when there is a suggestion, when there is an amendment, to suspend Article 21 of the Constitution of India; all over the country people are up in arms, people are objecting, people are talking from rooftops about the precious right to life and the precious right to liberty. And yet, in the same country when you take a woman and burn her, you will be defended in the name of religion. In this background even to talk about atrocities against women is an exercise in futility, and the only thing that is worse than the atrocities against women is to give up, is not to speak about it and not to fight against it.

And, Sir, this is the only reason why I am here today at least to show that as far as women are concerned, however helpless we may be, however hopeless we may be and however much the people may refuse to look at the problems, we will still fight till the last, till the end, to protect our own rights because we know for sure that nobody else is going to protect our rights.

Sir, I also want to express my anguish over the speeches that were made just before me. Sir, the honourable lady Member, Mrs. Mukherjee, spoke. This is the tragedy of the situation. The honourable lady Member who spoke said so much about the atrocities that were being committed against women. Sir, I am not holding any brief for any Government or for any political party. The men who commit these crimes, the men who commit these wrong-doings, the society under the patriarchal system that reinforces these wrong-doings, are there because of the patriarchal system, not because of any Government. I say this because men are men and men will be men and this has no connection with any kind of Government and it is precisely a reaction like this which is shocking and it is even more shocking because it comes from a lady Member and it trivialises the issue.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Men are men and men would be men. So, do you like them or not?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Not when they interrupt me!

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Then all interruptions are withdrawn!

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: This is the tragedy that we attempt to trivialise the serious issue of problems relating to women by making it a political issue. The honourable lady Member referred to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Government. I want to ask her whether under any other Government no atrocities against women take place. Sir, I hold no brief for anybody. I am a woman first and I will defend to my last breath the rights of women and I will condemn to the last breath of mine any kind of atrocity against women whichever Government it may be. My appeal, therefore, here to all the honourable Members is this: Please don't trivialise the issue by bringing it down to a political level, by making it a political issue. Please don't do that because this is exactly the reason why the crimes against women get ignored because they get lost in politics and this is exactly the reason why this has happened.

One more thing I would like to say about what she has said before

I go on to the main speech which I want to make on this subject.

The honourable lady Member referred to the Budget. I only want to place it on record that this is not a shameful thing that the price of *sindoor* has been lowered. It may be that she agrees with it, it may be that she does not agree with it. Many women do use it or do not use it. But merely because the price of sindoor has been reduced, you cannot say that it is an insult to women. It is not an insult to women. Secondly, Sir, the Budget does have a provision by which women's co-operatives have been given certain exemptions and there are certain provisions by which the Government has shown that it is its desire to ameliorate the conditions of women and to uplift the cause of women, to promote the cause of women. Therefore, it is not as if there is anything special about it and I certainly take serious objection to what the honourable lady Member has said, that is, that lowering the price of sindoor is an insult to women. I take pride in applying sindoor and I take strong objection to her statement and I refute it. It is not a political issue at all and the issue is entirely different.

Sir, time and again, in this House, outside the House, on public platforms, in rallies, in women's groups; demands are made and demonstrations are held and laws are passed and jokes are written. Even our colleagues say in the lobbies here, "Today, it is women's day. You must speak about women's issues and all the women should get together." But the tragedy is that nothing has been done and the situation remains just the same and there is absolutely no amelioration of any kind of the lot of women.

Sir, the first point that I wish to make very specifically is that we have so much of legislation and, in fact, there is an abundance, an over-abundance, of legislation. But all this legislation is only on paper. I say this because, as long as there is no implementation, as long as there is no effective implementation, of this legislation, as long as you do not bridge the gap between the Government and the people, between the legislature and the people, all this legislation is not worth the paper that it is written upon.

I want to quote only a very simple example. There are laws about women in police custody and there is a law to the effect that women should not be brought to a police station at night, that they should not be detained for over 24 hours. These laws are followed more in their breach than in their observance. Rather than observing these laws, they are breaking these laws and rather than keeping these women in formal custody, they are keeping these women in informal custoday and much worse horrors are perpetrated on these women. Therefore, bridging the terrible yawning gap between the legislation and its implementation should be our first priority.

Sir, another telling example I am going to talk of about a little later in my speech is the problem of sexual harassment at work place. We all know that at the work-place the woman is harassed mercilessly. Now, we have trade unions. These trade unions consist primarily of men, and these men are concerned with their own demands. The problems of sexual harassment of women at the work-place are rarely an expression of trade unions. Nor have I found any trade union to seriously espouse the cause of equal remuneration for women. Therefore, Sir, again there is a yawning gap between the implementation and the actual legislation itself. Waht has happened, Sir, is that it is a kind of fatalist surrender to injustice. On the one hand, we have all the laws on paper, and on the other we have simply surrendered ourselves to injustice because we feel that there is no point in fighting it and that the system has finally taken hold of us. It is institutional insensivity. Sir, the first thing we have to fight is this kind of insensivity. I would have been gratified, Sir, I would have felt happy, I would have got hope, I would have faith, in the future of

[Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan]

this country if all my colleagues over here had come here today to raise the same kind of noise that they raised yesterday about what is happening in Punjab, about issues against women. But when you go to talk about issues about women, nobody is present any more, on both sides. I think it is a shameful thing, and it is a sorry commentary on the state of affairs.

Sir, now, one important suggestion I have to make with regard to this gap between the legislation and the implementation is this. It is not simply the Government, Sir, I think, non-governmental organisations.. (Interruptions)

Please do not trivialize it. I do not want to make it a political issue. I am requesting everybody to kindly let me expres my views on this. I do not want to enter into any dialogue about politics. I want to concentrate on this issue. At least here I may be allowed to have my say what I feel as a women.

Sir, a very important progressive step would be this. We all know that there is a serious complaint that in various police stations with regard to the various crimes against women the police are insensitive in the sense that they do not take actual action. I agree, Sir, I am going to say a lot about that a little later. The police are insensitive because they also have the same patriarchal attitude towards women. And then one important factor that we should not forget is that the police have also to concentrate on major crimes, and the police cannot address themselves specifically to women's issues. Therefore, they cannot pay the same attention to them as they deserve. Therefore, it is important that non-governmental organisations and voluntary bodies should be given statutory powers so that they work concurrently and they have concurrent jurisdiction with the police as far as atrocities on women are concerned. This would be an important and progressive step by which you can curb some of the atrocities against women. This would not only help to put aside some of the patriarchal prejudices of policemen about which I won't go into now, but they will also have a beneficial effect, so that many women will have the confidence to come back and they will be able to talk to the non-governmental organisations and the organisations will be able to help them to stand for their rights.

Sir, laws are man-made in the sense that I am not talking about God given laws but man-made laws. I am saying that laws all over the world are made by men, for men and for the benefit of men. Unless, Sir, all of us here first understand the concept behind law-making, we will continue to be puzzled by the inequalities which seen so obvious to women but which totally allude men, which makes them the talking point or the debating point. This is the sad truth of all laws. Patriarchy presents two crucial issues, and these are the abuses from which all the crimes against women are perpetrated. And these issues are, one, control of property, and two, control over female sexuality. Often the control of property dictates control over female sexuality. This is the basis of patriarchy, and this is the basis of all crimes against women that are being committed today. And unless we address ourselves to root of this problems, there is no way by which these crimes can be brought out. Sir, I gave a small example. Women are treated as feeble and dim-witted. The whole theory of the law is that she needs a kind of protection because she cannot protect herself. If you take the Freedom of Religion Act, 1968, passed in Orissa, the punishment for the conversion of a woman is twice the punishment for the conversion of a man as if a woman is some kind of a dim-wit and she does not have the capacity to think for herself. Even the minimum age for marriage enforces and reinforces the concept that a woman should be younger than a man so that he will be able to control her and he will be able to force his will upon her.

Since my time is limited, I want to be very specific.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: There is a biological reason.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: This is another example of insensitivity. What is the biological reason? I am asking

why she should be younger always. (Interruptions)

Since my time is limited, I want to be very specific about 3 major issues. (Interruptions) If they had carried a child in their womb, they will be more sensitive to the problem. If they ever carried a child in their womb, there would be no problem because they would never have children. They would never go through that trauma.

There are three major issues with regard to the atrocities against women. They have been identified by a Commonwealth study. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Let us hear her. This is a serious discussion.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: There are three major issues with regard to the crimes against women. I am not going into the issue of property rights for women or any other related issue. I am going to confine myself to three major issues. They have been identified as domestic violence, i.e. violence within the family. Then there is sexual assault and harassment and thirdly the dowry-related violence.

If you take domestic violence first, I would like to quote one sentence. Only one sentence I want to quote. Statistically it is safer for a woman to be in the street after dark with a stranger than at home in the bosom of her family. It is in the house that most of the violence against women occurs. Then there is wife-beating. This wife abuse goes on all over the world, and particularly in India it is a vestige of the feudal social belief that the husband has a right to beat his wife and ill-treat her. Even the other day, I read about it in the newspaper. Also there are many cases about which you don't read and in these cases also the husband abuses his wife physically and the major problem here is that the women are not able to go to a Police Station immediately and seek their help so that the Police is able to protect them. As I said, more often than not, most of these issues stem from the fact that the Policemen themselves suffer from some kind of a patriarchical concept of society.

One major step that was taken in this direction was that Section 498A was introduced in the Indian Penal Code which made cruelty to a wife something that was punishable. No doubt, there are many loopholes in the legislation which have been identified. But once again, it is the implementation that we have to take serious note of.

Secondly, sexual harassment is at work. It is something that should be taken serious note of. It is something that should be of serious concern to all of us. I do not want to define it or take any further time on it. We know that many women at work suffer this problem of improper advances of suggestions, of crude remarks at the work place by their colleagues. This is one way by which the women are totally discourged from participating in this maledominated world. This is one way by which even when a woman is a superior officer, she can be made to feel lower and lesser so that she is somehow harassed and asked to leave the work place. More often than not, the tragedy about it is that it is the educated elite and the superior of these women who take advantage of these women at work. We have to take a serious note of it The trade unions, as they exist, don't address themselves to this problem sufficiently. Therefore, the law has to be changed again to make sure that this sexual harassment at work is also stopped. It is a serious crime against women that is not given sufficient attention.

The last kind of violence that I would like to refer to is the violence with regard to rape. There are frightening statistics about rape in this country. I am not going to give figures. Many speakers have spoken about it. Many speakers have spoken about the figures before me. Every two hours there is a rape somewhere in India. And what has happened is that in the last decade, the number of rapes have more than doubled. More frightening than that is that in the last decade the age of the victim has gone below 12 years where children of two years and three years and four years are being raped. This has not happened before.

Now I mention another important characteristic of rape. This is a charge I

[Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan]

make against the police. In fact, I want to quote that the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha itself in 1983-84 has found that 90 per cent of the cases were not reported—only 10 per cent were reported —and the police were manipulating the figures all over the country to make the picture look much better than it actually is. This is a finding of the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, totally authentic and we have to take serious note of this.

Sir, another thing is that there is an image that rape is something that occurs within the cover of darkness. It does not, Sir. The starting statistics and facts are that most rapes occur between 2 p.m. and 8 p.m. Rape does not occur by a stranger. It usually occurs by a married man and it is usually committed by neighbours and people who are well known to the victim.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): What is this, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : You can reply to him.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Should I reply to him?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Yes, yes, In the Lobby, not here.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr. Gopalsamy, we are god-fearing people. not like you.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: This is the fear of a lady about the elders.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I do not know how to react to all the hilarity. I am afraid, I am totally unamused by this kind of hilarity. I must confess, Sir. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): What you have said is proved now.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: That is the problem that women all over the world suffer that the issue becomes a joke. This is going to continue until there is a revolt. There will never be. And that is why I said in the beginning that the only thing that is worse than being helpless is not doing anything. I am getting up and speaking not out of any confidence in my colleagues anywhere that they are going to seriously ameliorate the lot of women. I have no hope. But at least till the last breath left in us, we will fight for the cause of women. At least that much we can do.

Sir, now I am talking of positive measures. The point I wish to make about rape is that the most important thing is that rape has to be treated as any other kind of physical threat such as armed assault or robbery. It is only because there is a social stigma that is attached to the rape where even the parents or the girl, where even the husband of the victim will immediately be ostracised here. And if she faces ostracism by society, no cases are reported and action is not taken. That is why there is outrage when you suspend Article 21 in Punjab. But nobody says anything.... (*Interruptions*) I am sorry, only a very few people say where a rape occurs. This is because most of the cases are unreported, the cases are not brought to our notice. And unless the social stigma of rape is removed, there is no way by which you can bring the offenders to book.

Finally, a very important aspect of rape is that in recent times, the majority of the offenders in rape cases are not people from the lower strata of society, are not illiterate people but people who are highly educated. For instance, we read about a case in Paharganj where a doctor locked up his patient for two days and committed repeated sexual assault. Then we hear of a case of an advocate in the Tis Hazari courts who raped his client inside his room. These are the kind of people who are committing rape now. I charge. Sir.....(*Interruptions*) Please do not politicise the issue. I repeatedly beg you not to politicise it. I pity the women in your State if you are going to make rape a political issue.

Therefore, Sir, I wish to point out to this hon. House that it is absolutely frightening that it is now the educated class of people who are committing rape. This is known as custodial rape. I don't need to go into the law. We are well aware of the law which says that this kind of "aggravated rape' which is custodial rape is something that has to be seriously punished, the kind of custodial rape of a police officer on a person who is in his custody, of a public servant on somebody who is working under him or a doctor against a patient under him and other such cases. This is an alarming trend in the kind of rape cases which we have to take note of.

Then, finally, Sir, I just want to make a final reference to the fact that Mr. Balaram, who spoke just before me, said, that the final point of most family planning programmes happens to be women and unformately there are some starling statistics that in the Plan oulay out of Rs. 3256 crores for family welfare in the Seventh Plan, only Rs. 888 crores are set aside for maternal and child health care. The rest is allotted to fertility control programmes. Therefore, what you are doing is that you are simply changing the focus because you are simply taking all the money, because women are the people who will keep quiet and who have no capacity to protest. You are shifting the entire focus on the family planning and you are imposing a kind of control. Family planning is not fertlity control. You are imposing a fertility control over women so that they are the targets for all kinds of slipshod operations that are carried on all over the country.

One alarming fact is that procedures that have been well laid down, elementary health procedures, are not followed in these camps. And this is the reason why doctors in these family planning camps carry out indiscriminate operations seriously endangering the lives of women and this is a serious factor. It is a crime against women that is being committed institutionally by organisations of Government itself and this is something that has to be stopped at once.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir,.... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : She spoke very well and you are joking all along.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Mr. Dipen Ghosh very serious.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: He was all along enjoying the joke. You must be serious.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr Kulkarni, I am more serious than you: not only in table-thumping...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : There was a good speech. You never make a good speech. You only shout.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Your speaker is trying to de-politicise the issue. (*Interruptions*).

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, whether we like it or not, this issue is a very serious issue, namely the rise in crime against women. I say, Sir, the most sensitive barometer of the health of a society is the respect which the society shows to women. This is the most sensitive barometer to know the health of a nation. This is because of the reason Mahatma Gandhi gave when he defined Swarajya. He said: A woman should walk at the dead of night in the streets anywhere in India freely without any fear. Today, Sir, in Delhi after 7 p.m. no lady can dare to walk alone in any street. This is the dark situation, Sir. That is why when we say that this society is not able to stand to any barometer, this society's health, mental health and the health of the nation itself is in a big crisis.

Sir, as a student in the 40s I visited Bombay to attend a students' conference. During those days we were thinking the Britishers were exploiting our people, the Britishers were lodging women and threatening them in prostitution behind the gates.

[Shri G. Vijaya Mohan Reddy]

6.00 P.M.

That is why I took the first opportunity during the conference to visit Kamtipura and saw half-naked and naked women being exhibited in cages. But may I ask, is the position different after independence? I thought we will smash those cages and women will be liberated and rehabilitated and our sisters and mothers will have the pride of place in our society. What has happened? Why do such things exist in our life? The previous speaker said that legislations are there. Legislations exist; power is there with the Government. The sociologists have gone through the problem; social scientists have gone through the problems. We know wherefrom the women are purchased and at what price. We know how they are brought from all over the country and sold and re-sold and we know how they are exhibited; we know who are the thugs and the goondas who are running this system and what are their connections and why they could not be touched. All this is known to everybody. Every magazine has been giving such articles telling us all these things. But this Government has not been able to act, when we say that this Government has not acted, is there anything wrong on our part? Is it an aimless talk? Is it politicising the issue? No, it is not.

About the trade union movement also. I would say not only in the trade union movement, but in every struggle in any part of the world, women have played an important role. It is the force of women behind any struggle. I have myself seen the trade union struggles; I have seen strikes being carried on for 50 days, 60 days where the workers and their families starve; the children starve. And the mother, the woman in the family, will take just water and will see that other family members are fed and she consoles them to carry on the fight. It is the woman behind all trade union movements. So also it is the woman behind the entire struggle which is going on. It was Kasturba who was the inspiration for Mahatma Gandhi, and because of her a Mahatma was given to our country.

So, as I was saying, everything is known, and when everything is known, and we cannot take action, it means something is wrong. There is a nexus. If it is a village, it is the landlord class; if it is the city, then it is the rich people and if is in the work spot, it is the contractor.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I want leave of the House to request Dr. (Shrimati) Sarojini Mahishi to occupy the Chair.

**[The Vice-Chairman Dr. (Shrimati Sarojini Mahishi) in the Chair].**

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: And wherever the contractors are there, wherever some work is going one, whether in the tribal area or any other place, the majority in the work force is the women, and these women are treated as slaves. Because of this, there have been many cases of families having broken in tribal areas. There have been several cases of divorce among tribals. That is why I say that you have allowed the rich to grow very rich. You have built up a system in the country where these riches cannot stand without crimes. Therefore, crime goes hand in hand with our civilisation which you have developed.

One speaker said that media, especially the cinemas, are responsible. Now it is the NRIs cinemas which are being publicised and which run for days and days together, collecting huge amounts. What are these cinemas? They exhibit only crime against women, and this is being allowed in our country where we have an army of unemployed youth.

This frustration is there in every class. The middle class has been knocked out. Their economy has been knocked out. And these youth are trying to find a way-out but they should not go in the direction that they should clash with your interest. That is the reason why you are pumping in all this. That is why there is moral degeneration creeping in this society. The crisis is deepening. The social bonds are getting

broken. Family life itself is being attacked. The law makers have become the law breakers and the custodians of law are the worst criminals. That is why, Madam permit me to read from 'Blitz'. It says:

> "It is more than three decades since Justice Mullah of Allahabad High Court observed in a judgment that police were the largest organised gang of criminals in the country. This brought the policemen up in arms, going to the Supreme Court to get the Judge's observation expunged. But there has not been much change in the general character of the police force....
>
> Even before the ink has dried on the judgement in the Maya Tyagi case of Baghpat in which six policemen were ordered to be hanged and four others sentenced to life imprisonment, Bihar police indulged in an orgy of brutality at Pararia village, in Deoghar district, on the night of February 18/19, that even one week after the incident every villager there was terror-striken and every woman given to sibbing her heart out...
>
> Houses were broken open. In the houses where the doors could not be forced open, the marauding cops removed roof tiles to enter the houses. Once inside, they forcibly pulped womenfolk out of their beds and raped them. This demonstration of savagery continued for about two hours. Not content with rape, the sexmaniacal cops then broken open boxes in all the houses and took away whatever valuables they could lay their hands on. Ornaments on the body of almost every woman were also snatched away."

If these things cannot be discussed here, how can the Indian women be defended? If this House cannot make a demand for immediate action, where are we to go get justice? That is why we say that this Government must become sensitive, this Government, which has built *crorepatis*, multimillionaires, must rise to defend the poor people, their huts, their homes, their conditions of livelihood. They should see to it that the middle class people are given security of life.

Why do dowry deaths take place? It is because money has come to play the real role. It had never been so important in our country. For everything you require money to get a job, to get food and shelter you require money. Money has acquired a great importance and that is the reason why family gets broken because of money. That is the reason why there are dowry deaths in middle class people. Unemployed girls would become a burden on the family. That is why they commit suicides. I do not want to quote statistics because they do not represent even one per cent of the crimes. Statistics in this case are of no consequence. You look at the things on the spot. Go to any village, any working place, any office. Just now, hon. lady Member was mentioning about working places. I can tell you, you go to the fields where women are working, go to the places where women are working under a contractor, go to places where thousands and thousands of women are working. During the British days, during the Second World War, truckloads of women were moved to the Army stations...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: You will please conclude now.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: Yes, Madam. That is why I say, the system has to change. We will arise, awaken and fight back against these evil tendencies that have developed in the society. Government or no Government. It is the people's force which must tackle this problem. That is why I say that this is an issue which is political, economic, social and it has to be fought as ruthlessly as we fought against the British imperialism.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Hon'ble Minister.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am not replying; I am just intervening, Madam. I just wanted to make a few observations as an intervention because some points which have been raised will probably not be touched by the Home

[Shrimati Margaret Alva]

Ministry because many of these legislations which have been spoken about are with the Department of Women and Child Development for implementation and follow-up.

I would like to begin by saying that the concern which has been expressed by all sections is shared equally by the Department of Women and Child Development. But I would like to say that if more cases are registered and more statistics are available today, it is not because these crimes did not take place before, it is because there is more awareness, there is more public protest and there is greater effort on the part of women groups and the media to expose such crimes and see that they are highlighted. I do not think we can say that there never was a rape in India before, there were no crimes against women in the family. It is simply because of the awareness and the more stringent laws which have come that more and more cases are being registered, more complaints are being filed and there is a greater protest by society as a whole against the crimes that are being committed.

There have been efforts at trying to divide and say that certain States, the Congress-ruled States, are evil, or the men there are evil, or the people there are depraved and that those in other States are saints. I refuse to divide the society on the basis of political affiliations. In the country, our administration, our police and our society, as was said by the hon. Member, are male-dominated and there is need for a tremendous reorientation in the administration and in the general social thinking to accept women as equals and stop the type of atrocities which take place therein simply because they are considered the weaker sex and very often pawns in bigger games among the groups in societies.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: Madam, just one clarification I want to have. I am not disturbing you. Are you speaking on behalf of the Government? Is it the Government's opinion?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Yes, of course, I am intervening. I have said this in this House very often.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: You said that the main reason is that it is a male-dominated administration and society. Is that Government's view?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Please don't put me in the question box. I am speaking. I am a woman.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: I just want this clarification—is this the Government's opinion that it is because it is a male-dominated society?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Our society is male-dominated.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI BUTA SINGH): Please take your seat. I will reply to your question.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Male domination has come here also. She was replying to the question of Mr. Balaram. Now Mr. Buta Singh has come to dominate.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: He has put a highly politically motivated question.

What the hon. Minister is stating is....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: It is not that the hon. Member has not understood it. He is simply trying to provoke.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: I am trying to meet the point what he has in his mind. Government of India provides for equality before law and equality of opportunity in this country and the Government's stand is that too. What my hon. colleague is saying is reality of the fact of life.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव: मंत्री जी ने उठ कर कहा, बिना कहे सुने डोमीनेशन की बात। हो गई

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): So you admit that you are violating the Constitution.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I would like to say that the atrocities against women are not a political issue and this is why I appeal for a need to look upon it as something deeper than just a political point being scored on one side or the other because I am not prepared to accept that these crimes take place only in particular States or in particular parts of the country. The problem, as has already been admitted, is a big...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam,...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Please don't disturb me.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am asking you a question.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]. Please don't disturb.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Just a question. When you say that it is not a political matter, do you imply that it has nothing to do with the political structure of the society or do you mean that it is a matter of political fortitude?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am not going into your class struggle at this stage. I am talking about women's struggle.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Even in perestroika reform I think it was mentioned that a social evil like this has to be met in the Soviet Union. So, the structure of the society may not be successful always

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Mrs. Alva, please continue.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, I am saying that there is a great gap between the legislation and its implementation. When it comes to the implementation stage, I would like to point out that in many ways, I who am in charge of the Department of Women, am helpless because the implementation machinery is with the State Governments. Here, I would say that I am prepared to share with the Members the number of letters I have written to the Chief Ministers, the number of efforts we have made to see that the implementation takes place. I would give just one or two examples.

Take the question of the Family Courts Act which was passed in 1984. Till today, except two States, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, no other State has set up the Family Courts Everyone of them says that it is in the process, that they are doing it. We are looking for an accommodation. We are doing something. I would like to ask my friends on the other side: which of your States have set up the Family Courts for which we have been repeatedly reminding and begging? Our States have started. Uttar Pradesh has got three already. Rajasthan has got. (*Interruptions*) I am saying that when you say that the Congress(I) Governments are not serious, that we are hypocrites, that we do not mean business, I am not blaming anyone, but I am just saying that I would like you also to search your conscience and see if implementation has taken place in States where your administration is running. That is my only request.

I have been saying this is every State where I go that this is not a question of an Opposition government or ours, but it is a question of the rights of women. I would say, a lot of the problems of family violence or small differences in a family are meant to be sorted out through family Courts where lawyers are not to be involved. By true counselling, by bringing the parties together, many of these problems were to be sorted out. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Why do you want so much of clarification? Please let her continue. Please sit down. This problem cannot be solved overnight. Please sit down.

DR. G. VIJAY MOHAN REDDY: Our Government, the A. P. Government has given full property rights, equal rights to women. I request her to mention which Congress Government has done so.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] : I request the Minister not to answer these questions. I request Members also not to raise so many points and not to ask for so many clarifications.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, I would only say that equal rights to women are not given by any political party or by any State Government. They have been given to the women of India in the Constitution of India, and we will stand by the Constitution and fight for our rights, no matter which Government claims that they are doing it.

Madam, I would like to point out, for instance, in dowry, the greatest problem we really face is this. The Dowry Act is to be implemented through the Department of Women and Child Development. I would like to say that the greatest problem we face in this is that most of the crimes are committed behind closed doors within family circles. The evidence is difficult. It is very very difficult to prove anything. Therefore, the law was amended last year. All sections of the House supported the amendment by which the onus of proof in a dowry death case was shifted to the family of the girl who dies in a dowry death case. The legislation was amended. The Evidence Act was amended. But I must admit, in spite of that, we see that dowry as a social evil is still going on. Why? It is essential whether you are educated or uneducated. In fact, the more educated is the young man, the bigger is the dowry demanded by most families as if it is the price of the education of the young man. Now, in these circumstances, I think the greatest need today is of social awareness and a public acceptance of the fact that dowry in itself constitutes an insult to women and is the cause of many many crimes. She may not really die, but the type of violence which takes place in the family, the harassment of the young girl or the bride is something which one has to sit in the free legal aid centres and listen to believe. We have come across girls who have come there with nails broken, or those who have come there after undergoing all sorts of torture. And if she is asked to go to the police station to complain then she says "where do I go tomorrow, because economically I am not free, economically I am not independent? If I go back to my father's house or to my brother's house, they do not want me back." They say they have given so much dowry and got her married and they are not prepared to take her back. This is the inhumanity, I should say, comitted even in the family against their own girl. They believe once she is married, she is not their responsibility and she has got to look after herself. Very often we appeal to the family to take the girl back and protect her and we will try to help her. They say—उसकी शादी हो गई है, तो उसकी बनी है। अब उसे घर में नहीं लाना है।

We cannot bring her back. these are customs and traditions which are to be broken. This is not a political issue. This is a question of creating a kind of movement for the woman's right in which, I think, not only women but men also have to participate if it really has to work.

AN HON. MEMBER: We will participate.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: There is no point in saying that this is women's issue. this is women's movement and this is to be left to us. It is a much wider issue.

The other point I want to make—and that was mentioned also—is why don't we give powers to women's organisations and so on. Yes, voluntary groups are to be involved. In this connection I want to point out that the amended Dowry Law has provided for this and we have said that women organisations, voluntary organisations can be notified or rather must be notified by the State Governments so that they can be involved in the process of filing complaints, FIRs and so on. I must say today, except for three Governments no State Government has yet notified any of the women's organisations. And when I talked to them they say 'you give us the names. We don't know which are the women's organisations.' In other words, I have got to identify the States women's organisations and tell the Chief Ministers, "please involve these so that they can work with you." This is the response of the State Governments, which, again I am sad to say, has not really taken place.

The other point is that of rehabilitation which many of these women need after crimes are committed or because they are victims of crimes. We have launched a massive programme of homes for women in distress—crisis centres—where legal aid and training for economic rehabilitation of these women and so on must take place. In fact, somebody mentioned also about Justice Krishna Iyer Commission on Women in Custody. This was appointed by our Department because we did feel that the women in custody needed help. We have come across cases where when a man wants to get rid of the girl, he just gets a complaint filed against her and has her arrested and she has no bail. These women languish in jails for years and years very often as a result either of property disputes or because the man wants to get rid of the young widow or bride or the wife who is inconvenient to the man in the family. We have cases where they have declared them mad and they have been admitted into the mental hospitals just because a certificate is provided. These are crimes which you do not read about in the newspapers and against which there is no real legislation which we have to pass. But all these form part of the great problem which women face simply because very often they are not aware of their rights or they are not able to enforce the simple rights which really exist even to get themselves released or to bail them out.

This Report is being studied jointly by the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Department of Woman and Child Development and the Ministry of Welfare to see what follow-up measures could be taken jointly. (*Interruptions*) I am not yielding. Please let me finish.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: You are talking about that Report. In that report it has been specifically pointed out that in the Criminal Procedure Code about 83 Sections are to be amended in favour of women.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: That is why we are discussing how implementation is to take place, but I cannot...

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: The Report was submitted nine months back.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I know, but let me tell you that the first copy of the Report which has been submitted has been printed and circulated and it is now being studied in the Departments. Just because a Report comes, I cannot go with 83 amendments within a month to Parliament and say amend all this.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: It was submitted last year. What are you talking? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Emergency provisions can be pushed through even on Friday evening, but for this you cannot bring out a legislation. It is ridiculous (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. A. BABY: It is ridiculous.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, you have to protect me otherwise I cannot reply ..(*Interruptions*) .

AN HON. MEMBER: Only one month is enough here.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: If it is Constitution amendment it will take one year and different laws have to be amended.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: No interruptions please.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I just want to add one more thing. We have now launched a programme for training and reorientation of police personnel and the administartion itself to make them more sensitive to women's issues.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: आप जवाब दे रही हैं या इन्टरवीन कर रही हैं?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am saying that this is one of the programmes in the training of administrators today. A special programme has been made for every IAS officer or every person undergoing training including in-service training. It is a special component of issues affecting women, so that both police and the administration, and others are sensitised to women problems and are able to really react as they should.

One final point and that is about more women in the police force. We have also been asking—the Home Minister is here; we have been repeatedly asking—that we need more police women at the point that women come into contact with the law particularly in the police stations and at investigative stage where women will feel that they can really be dealt with by women. But there are problems. Not enough women are responding to join the police probably..

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Recent treatment given to Mrs. Kiran Bedi.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Exactly. I just wanted to say that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI, SAROJINI MAHISHI] I request you not to interrupt because we will have to sit longer. This is a short duration discussion and we will have to conclude at 6.30 p.m.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Madam Chairperson, may I know whether we will be allowed to ask for clarifications?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MOHISHI]: Later on.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: She is not making a statement.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam Vice-Chairman, are we to complete at 6.30 P.M.?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: According to the time schedule it was to be finished at 6.30 P.M.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: But we were informed that the House will sit upto 8 O'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: If it is the desire of the House what can I do? Let her continue.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव: इसको कल के लिए स्थगित किया जा सकता है। यह महत्वपूर्ण विषय है इसको छोड़ने का तो सवाल ही नहीं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: If it is the desire of the House, you can sit and discuss also.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We will sit.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Ultimately, Madam, we have to help the women to be just aware of their rights and also to take the benefits which flow from these laws and these rights which have been given to them. For this programme of para-legal training and free legal aid to women has been started by the Department of Women which will help the women in a big way who really need this assistance.

I would just say one point that is there has been a great deal of support from the judiciary itself. Many of the decisions and the judgements which have been given in recent times have helped very much and the cause of women is being strengthened in the court room itself. I think, these judgements and these decisions have helped them in a big way by implementing some of these legislations. But as I said at the beginning, ultimately it is the response of the society itself. There is no point in blaming the Government or administration. It is the society itself which has to change its attitude and its thinking towards women. Unless and until this happens all the legislations and all the efforts from all sides cannot really give the results for women to stay in the society. They must be honoured to stay in the society.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी]** : माननीय सदस्य बड़ी संख्या में बोलना चाहते हैं, सदस्यों को मेरी प्रार्थना है और सदस्याओं से भी मेरी प्रार्थना है कि 5–5 मिनट बोलें तो सब लोग बोल सकते हैं।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव** : यह कैसे होगा? यह तो हो नहीं सकेगा। कल पर रख लीजिये। अभी यह कैसे हो जायेगा? अभी तक तो जो बोल लिये, सो बोल लिये, लेकिन अब जो बाद वाले हैं?

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी]** : कुमारी सईदा खातून।

**कुमारी सईदा खातून** (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीया उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आपने मुझे देश में महिलाओं के प्रति अपराध की बढ़ती हुई घटनाओं के संबंध में चर्चा में भाग लेने का मौका दिया, इसके लिये मैं आपकी शुक्रगुजार हूं... (व्यवधान) मुझे बोलने दीजिये, थोड़ा सा सुन लीजिये।

औरत जाति हमारी एक जाति है, जिसका अस्तित्व दुनिया बनाने वाले ने जब दुनिया बनानी चाही थी, तब उसे भी इस बात का एहसास हुआ था कि इस चमन में अगर औरत नाम का फूल न खिलाया जाये, तो मौसम की जरूरत ही क्या, इसीलिये आदम के साथ हव्वा को भी पैदा किया, ताकि इन्सानियत इस दुनिया में अपनी इज्जत और सम्मान, राहत और आराम, दुख-सुख का एहसास कर सके।

राष्ट्रीय-कवि बेकल साहब ने बड़ा अच्छा शेर कहा है—

गुलिस्तां में अगर फूलों की
खुशबू की तिजारत हो

तो फिर मौसम की इज्जत क्या
बहारों की जरूरत क्या?

जब आदम ने हव्वा के कहने पर गंदुम का दाना खाया और इस सजा में उन्हें जन्नत से निकाला गया तो यह पहला आममानी जोड़ा दुनियां बसाने के लिये इस धरती के वजूद में आया। औरत का रुतबा, उसकी इज्जत, उसका सम्मान हमारी पूरी इन्सानियत में अपना एक मुकाम रखता है। औरत ने हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई में भी अपना पूर्ण योगदान दिया, हजारों मांओं ने अपनी गोद सूनी की, हजारों स्त्रियों ने अपने सुहाग का सिंदूर पोंछा, हजारों बहनों ने अपनी रक्षा का वचन लेने वाले धागों को बांधने वाले भाइयों की अपने देश की गुलामी की जंजीरों को तोड़ने के लिये आहुति दी। कहने का मतलब यह है कि औरत का रूप मां, बहन और बेटी का रूप है। औरत ने जिस रूप में जन्म लिया, अपनी एक याद इस दुनियां में छोड़ गयी। मुस्लिम में जनाबे सैयदा, ईसाइयों में बीबी मरयम और हिन्दू समाज में सीता जैसी महान देवियों ने इस दुनिया में अपना एक अलग ही मुकाम रखा है। लड़ाई के मैदान में शत्रुओं के छक्के छुड़ाने में झांसी की रानी महारानी लक्ष्मी बाई और रजिया सुलताना को आज भी आला-उद में याद किया जाता है। इस दुनिया के अजूबा में अपना स्थान बनाने वाले ताजमहल को देखकर सबसे पहले मुमताज महल का ख्याल आता है कि उस औरत ने आखिर आदमी के दिल में अपनी मुहब्बत की निशानी का कितना बड़ा सबूत इस दुनियां के सामने लाया।

[कुमारी सईदा खातून]

मुझे बड़े अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज इस औरत के सम्मान को खरीदा जा रहा है, उसकी इज्जत की तिजारत की जा रही है। उस औरत को जरा से कसूर पर या बिना कसूर के मुहब्बत का दम भरने वाला उसका शौहर आज सिर्फ तीन बार तलाक का लफ्ज कहकर उसे दुनियां के सामने लावारिस छोड़ देता है। यह औरत जात पर सबसे बड़ा जुल्म है। इस पर हमारे सांसद बेकल साहब ने बड़ी मार्के की और सबक आमोज़ बात कही है कि—

दिलो को जोड़ न पाये तो
फिर निफाक न दे

तालुकात को मजबूत कर
तलाक न दे।

दहेज जैसी कुरीति भी हम ही औरतों के हिस्से में आई है। खुदा जाने कब तक इन कुरीतियों से हम औरत जात को निजात मिलेगी। बूढ़ा बाप अपने दिल की अजीज कली को रुखसत करके भी इसी परेशानी में मुबतिला रहता है कि उसके बाग की नाजुक कली दहेज जैसे राक्षस के मुंह का निवाला न बन जाये। इस पर बेकल साहब की बात मुझे याद आती है। उन्होंने बाप और बेटी के रिश्तों पर बड़ी मौजूं बात कही है —

उसी दिन छाव ठंडी बूढ़े बरगद से जुदा होगी
के जिस दिन अपने मैके से कोई लड़की विदा होगी।

सती जैसी कुरीति भी हम ही महिलाओं के हिस्से में आई है, जबकि महिला और पुरुष गाड़ी के दो पहियों के समान हैं। तो फिर हर बात में महिला नामक चक्के को ही क्यूं जख्मी किया जाता है? क्यों उसकी इज्जत नीलाम की जाती है? क्यों उसे बलात्कार का शिकार बनाया जाता है? हर जुल्म और ज्यादती की हकदार औरत ही क्यों है? अब हमारी सरकार सही में इस ओर काफी ध्यान दे रही है। हम लोगों की सुरक्षा की जिम्मेदारी अब हमारी महिला मंत्री अपने ऊपर लिये हैं। लेकिन औरत के ऊपर होने वाले अपराधों को हम उस वक्त कम कर पायेंगे, जब हर आदमी औरत को एक बहन, एक बेटी और मां के नजरिये से देखे।

अन्त में, मैं अपना ही एक शेर कहूंगी कि—

न कोई आंख ही नम हो
न कोई दिल टूटे

अगर यह आदमी हो जाय
आदमी की तरह।

मैं तो अपनी सरकार की तारीफ करूंगी कि औरतों के हक में रूल भी हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार ने बनाये हैं। जैसे—इम्पलीमेंटेशन आफ वीमेन बिल, डावरी अमेंडमेंट एक्ट, इनडिसेंट रिप्रजेंटेशन आफ वीमेन बिल, इत्यादि।

मेरा सजेशन है जैसा अभी मंत्री महोदया ने भी कहा कि औरतों के लिये लेडी-इंस्पेक्टर को हर जिले में तैनात किया जाना चाहिये और हर जिले में कम से कम एक लेडी-जज भी होनी चाहिये, ताकि औरतों को सही तरीके से न्याय मिल सके।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देते हुए अपना स्थान ग्रहण करती हूं।

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Madam Vice-Chairman, I am deeply sorry to discuss this subject in this House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI): I would request you to conclude within five minutes.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Right, Madam. It is a huge stigma to the entire nation. Recently, we have seen that atrocities on women have increased. We have seen that women are

being molested...*(Interruptions)*... It seems that...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Till the House is adjourned every day we are sitting here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Ladies are participating. Let them participate. You will also have a chance.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: People take it for granted that women are for being burnt, molested and raped. In Bihar, and Assam, policemen who are custodians of law, are taking advantage of the economic weakness of the rural people and are resorting to heinous crimes without any check. The case of Assam, as stated by many speakers, is really sad. But the major point is that the culprits who have committed the crime are ex-servicemen belonging to Assam Police. I want to mention here that except one, all are from other States. One I.P.S. Officer, mentioned by Shri Ram Awadhesh Singh also, who has criminal records and against whom the Assam Government is investigating, induced all these policemen to commit crimes of different nature in order to create more trouble in the sensitive areas of Assam. It is not as if the Assam Government has not taken steps. The Assam Government has taken very prompt steps. The Assam Government has instituted a Commissioner level enquiry in the first week of February. It has also proposed to institute a judicial enquiry. It suspended and put them into jail issuing non-bailable warrants against those criminals. The Assam Government is also trying for the rehabilitation of the affected women. We, the women of Assam, where there is no single dowry death up till now, want that those culprits should be hanged publicly.

If the dignity and position of women are the indices of the progress and advancement of a country, India is definitely lagging far behind. Here, women cannot walk freely, cannot move freely. Women are not only insecure but are degraded. In a male-dominated society, women are always at their mercy. They are burnt for dowry. They are molested, they are raped. The laws have lacunae and the criminals manage to escape due to law's bunglings and long-drawn processes. We need a draconian set of laws specifically made to deal with the criminals involved in atrocities against women. There should be a special branch of courts for the trial of these criminals and the disposal of these cases should be very quick. The punishment meted out should be so severe as to strike terror in the minds of people with criminal motive against women.

Madam, it is a deplorable fact that political influence also protects a large number of criminals from punitive measures. The abductors and rapists of women are the enemies of the society and they should be dealt with accordingly whether they belong to the VIP or non-VIP strata of society. Moreover, these crimes are against a section of the human race. These are grave social problems. I know how our hon. Minister Smt. Margaret Alva takes great pains and takes steps, through the Social Welfare Department, to make rural women conscious of the social injustice done to women. We all must participate in these efforts. Instead of making the atrocities on women a political issue, we should adopt a positive approach to find out a permanent solution. On the contrary, if we try to sling mud on each other by saying that these crimes are committed in Congress-party-ruled States or non-Congress-party-ruled States, we will be nowhere and no positive result will be achieved.

We want that there should be at least one women police officer in each and every police station so that the affected women might come freely and unhesitatingly to complain. As there is no woman police officer in many police stations now, most of the cases go unregistered because the victims feel embarrassed and hesitant to speak about the atrocities committed on them.

I want that there should be summary trial of all those crimes. I also want that the Criminal Procedure Code should be amended suitably. We demand that the person charged with committing rape of a woman or atrocity on a woman should

[Shrimati Bijoya Chakravarty]

be tried and punished publicly. We appeal again to the honourable Minister, Mrs. Margaret Alva, to spare funds generously to the voluntary organisations to organise some good physical training so that women can fight the criminal attempting atrocity on them. We also demand that there should be a para-military force such as home-guards in different States. This force should consist solely of women and it should be trained adequately so that it can ensure the security of women. With these words I conclude.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam Vice-Chairman, thank you for giving me this opportunity. The problems facing women in this country are manifold—rape, kidnapping, adultery, bride burning, dowry death, and so on. There are various factors responsible for these crimes against women which are perpetrated in our country. Social factors, customs prevailing in the country and economic status of the women are the major factors in this regard. I would like to quote three instances, horrible instances, to show how ladies have been treated as animals by men in this country. One incident is in Kerala in which more than twenty girls in a village called Thangamani in Idukki District, were gang-raped by a police party which entered the village on 20-10-1987. The Government did not take any action. One of the CPI Members, Mrs. Thangappan, raised the issue before the Assembly and at that time when the issue was raised for arresting the erring police persons who were involved in this gang-rape, the Chief Minister wanted a medical certificate to book the culprits. This is the sorry state of affairs, this is the way the Kerala Government is functioning. The issue was raised by one of the Coalition partners in the House. Now, another MLA also raised the issue and asked if the Chief Minister would keep quiet if anything happened in the family of anyone of the Ministers. There was no reply to this from the Chief Minister. Then, later on, a High Court Judge was appointed to inquire into the matter only when the matter was brought up by one of the MLAs of the CPI.

Another incident is from Assam. In Assam on January 23 and 27 in a village called Basumatari Forest, a police party entered the tribal areas and there they gang-raped the girls of a family in broad daylight. I shall read out the report of the incident:

> "On 27th January a police party from the local police station entered the house of Gobinda Basumatari and raped his two daughters, Tarali and Alita, in front of him. Sushila, who was betrothed to his son and was staying with his family according to the local custom, was gang-raped..."

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I object to this. He cannot read out the names. If he is allowed, then I can also narrate so many cases from Kerala, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh and other places.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I would request the honourable Member not to mention the names.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am only quoting from the record..

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I can also quote from many other States.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I will quote from Bihar also. I am not politicising the issue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: As far as possible, try to avoid names.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Yes, Madam, I will avoid. The agitation was started by the tribals and then by the All Assam Students' Union. The Assam Minister of the area was gheraoed. Then alone an inquiry was ordered. This is the sorry state of affairs there.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Madam, I challenge the honourable Member. He must prove it... (*Interruptions*)... I must be given an opportunity, Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: You made a statement and he has made a statement. Let him say what he wants to say. It may be correct or may not be correct. If he wants to say something, let him say that.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, in Bihar, in Padaria village, the police personnel, with the connivance of the contractors, entered the village and gang-raped the ladies and women of the age of 16 to 30. They gang-raped them and only on pressure being given by the members of the Congress (I), when the ladies went to them, action was taken by the authorities. I am blaming also our Government which is there and it is because women are being treated in a hostile fashion by men and this sort of attitude should go.

Now, I will come to the number of incidents. In the matter of dowry deaths, U.P. is leading. In respect of rape cases also, U.P. is leading and is having the highest number. In the matter of implementing the laws relating to dowry deaths, all the States are not equally enforcing these laws. The other honourable Members have given details about the various things. But I would like to inform the Minister who is sympathetic to women of one thing and it is that adultery is a crime which is being committed everywhere in the country. What happens in adultery? A person marries a lady and then deserts her and goes in for a second marriage. At the time of the second marriage, he does not maintain any record. A child is born to the second wife. Now the first wife has to prove in the court that her husband married a second time and is living with another lady. The proof in such cases is very difficult. Lots of women are suffering in our country on account of this. They are neither able to patch up with their husbands nor are they able to prove the second marriage. Their parents also want that they should patch up with their husbands. The husband keeps her for some time and then throws her out. I would like to request that the law relating to this should be made more liberal and easier and if the first wife proves in the court convincingly, though not with any authentic record, then the judges should take her word and the second wife and husband who are involved should be punished.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I would request you to conclude now. You have already taken your time.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am making important points Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: All speeches are important. Now you conclude.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am concluding by giving a few facts. The honourable Minister has said that the social status and the economic status of women should be raised. Unless and until the Government focuses its attention on it, the welfare of women cannot be ensured. Even the parents, after the marriage of their daughter, desert her and they think that their responsibility is over after the marriage. This is not prevalent in any particular community; it is prevalent in all the communities in the country. Therefore, the Government should take care of them and give more protection to them by giving them employment opportunities and the social welfare organizations also should afford them protection so that these women can rely on themselves and they need not have to look to somebody else.

Madam, I will make only two points more and I will then conclude. Even in respect of employment opportunities, women who are capable of working in government organisations or in banks should be given preference there. Deserted women and destitute women should be given preference. Even in respect of self-employment, assistance should be given to those ladies who are neglected by the community. Unless and until these things are taken... (*Time bell rings*) The police officers who have to protect the law are violating the law. And once the police officers...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. [SHRIMATI] SAROJINI MAHISHI): You

[Shrimati Sarojini Mahishi]

have covered all the points. Please conclude.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The police officers who have been involved in that should be punished, and a time-limit should be fixed for finishing the dowry cases. We have seen that these are prolonged for more than two or three years. (*Time bell rings*).

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI K G. MAHESWARAPPA (Karnataka): Madam Vice-Chairman, it is said that high respect is accorded to women in the Indian society, but the facts present the opposite picture.

Madam, you are a Sanskrit scholar. I do not know much of Sanskrit. I remember one line regarding women: Its translation, if I am correct, is that women should not be beaten even with flowers.

One of the hon. Members said that in regard to rape cases men belonging to the higher strata are involved more. It cannot be true. With regard to wife beating, people coming from the lower strata are more in number. It is a hard fact. Those under the influence of liquor, those frustrated by poverty, beat women. Several Members have given facts regarding atrocities on women. I have also got figures but I do not want to take the time of the House on that. It is admitted in all quarters that there is increase in the number of rape cases, there is increase in the number of molestation cases, there is increase in the number of kidnapping cases and there is increase in the number of dowry deaths. Regarding investigation and trial of rape cases, some new procedure, a new law, will have to be evolved. Madam, these cases do not come to light because of the social stigma in our society. A number of rape cases will not come to light and the culprits are not punished. In regard to the victims in the matter of rape cases, the investigating officers must be ladies only. If there is no provision in the criminal procedure, the law should be amended for this purpose. And the cases should be tried 'in camera'. The names of the victims should not be published in the media so that a large number of cases may come up and the culprits are punished.

I do not want to deal with the ghastly incidents that occurred in three places, one in Padaria village in Bihar, another in Baghpat and also the other one which my friend referred to in Tangamani village in Kerala. The police involvement is there. This is a serious matter—the controlling authority, the police itself involved in a number of cases, which is coming to light. Not only the police, there is the involvement of doctors, involvement of lawyers, involvement of MLAs and others in the crimes against women. Therefore, my submission is that the Police set-up has to be overhauled. All the things will have to be re-oriented. Shrimati Margaret Alva made a very general observation in her speech. She did not come out with any concrete steps that the Government is going to take.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai) in the Chair].

The hon. Minister has not told us as to how the Government propose to control this menace of crimes against women.

Lastly, I submit that correct statistics regarding atrocities on women are not available. Whatever statistics available are not up to date. There should be a change of attitude in the society. The lack of rapport between the Police and public will have to be removed. A new system of investigation by Police Officers will have to be set up. Then the victims of rape cases should be examined by Police only once instead of they are called number of times. They should not be asked to be present in the Police Station again and again for the purpose of investigation. They should not be further harassed. As I have already said, there should be trial in camera. The names of the victims should not be published in the media. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the incidents of crimes against women are on the increase. The whole country was shocked over the gang-rape in a village in Deoghar District,

Bihar. As per the reports appearing in Hindu, dated 23rd February, 1988:

"The smashed doors, the scattered belongings and the physical injuries inflicted on the victims bear eloquent testimony to the incident. The victims, including men and women, break down as they narrate the details. Surprisingly, no senior police officer or Minister has so far visited the village."

Sir, here the Police have raided the village.

"The armed men who drove into the hamlet in three tractors in the midnight of February 18, unleashed brutalities on the hapless villagers. The barbarity has sent shock-waves and triggered tension in the entire district. The victims of gang-rape are in the 20—32 age-group. According to Darya Devi (32), one of the victims, the raiders smashed the thatched roof of their house, when her father, Liloo Mahto, did not open the door and began thrashing and abusing us. "Five burly men grabbed me, thrashed me, snatched my ornaments, hurled me on the floor in a dark corner and raped me one by one."

In the courtyard of the same house, the raiders gang-raped 30-year old Radhia Devi, daughter of Jai Ram Mahto. "They gagged my mouth with a piece of cloth and raped me," said Radhia.

A weeping Veena Devi said, "the monsters did not spare even my young daughter, who was sleeping in a room."

Sir, the Police ransacked the entire village with weapons and gang-rape. Is it the jungle law that prevails in Bihar? Umpteen number of times we have discussed such atrocities on the floor of this House. It is very shocking that senior police officials are protecting these criminals. It is worse than the beasts. Sir, some ten days back, you might have also read the news that a 4-year old baby was raped and killed and her body was thrown into a lake. It is worse than a beast. The beast will not commit a crime like this. And most of these cases do not get reported to the police. The simple reason is the social stigma. Even the parents will not accept the daughter. If she is an unmarried girl, her whole life is ruined. Nobody will come to marry her. If she is a married woman, she may be deserted by her husband, and even her parents may not take her back. She is punished by the society for no fault; that is worse than the rape. The punishment of the society for the gang-rape victim is worse than the rape committed. That is why, most of these cases do not get reported to the police at all. Mr. Balaram narratted the incident in Assam. Now-a-days, the very sight of the khaki man, that is the police constable, scares the women. There are a number of incidents, day in and day out, that are reported when the women are taken into custody, or when they go to the police station to file a complaint, or when they are standing alone at a bus-stand or at the railway station, or when they are travelling in a train alone. Such culprits who take advantage of such a situation, must be punished severely; the punishment should be severe and stringent, and not only those who are actually involved in the rape, but those officials also who try to protect these gangsters and criminals, must get stringent punishment.

May I continue, Sir? I will take another ten minutes. Or if you want, I will continue tomorrow.

7.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH DESAI): You can continue on a later day.